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HISTORY AND RELIGION OF THE BANIWA PEOPLES OF THE UPPER RIO NEGRO VALLEY

VOLUME I

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES
OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by
Robin Michael Wright
June, 1981

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I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Merrill College,
University of California
at Santa Cruz)

Approved for the University Committee
on Graduate Studies:

Dean of Graduate Studies

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The research for this dissertation was carried out in the United States and in Brazil between February 1976 and November 1977, and sporadically throughout a three-year period of writing. The fieldwork and part of the period of writing were supported by a research grant from the National Science Foundation and a National Institute for General Mental Sciences (NIGMS) training grant through the Department of Anthropology at Stanford University. These are gratefully acknowledged.

The research was carried out in two very different settings: the archives and the field. In February of 1976, I began to collect and assimilate material from published sources on all topics related to the Northwest Amazon region, from the time it first became known and written about in the eighteenth Century to the present. Following the research in libraries at home, for which I am grateful especially to the staff at Stanford's Green Library, I worked for about three months in Rio de Janeiro, surveying and photocopying relevant documents in the following archives: Museu Nacional, Museu do Índio, Biblioteca Nacional, Instituto Historico e Geographico, and the Arquivo Nacional. The staff members of these places were always helpful. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Carlos Moreira Neto of the Museu do Índio for good advice and to Professors Anthony Seeger and Roberto da Matta of the Museu Nacional. Professors Seeger and Matta sponsored my field research in the Northwest of Brazil; it

was through their invaluable assistance that I obtained government permission to do fieldwork with the Baniwa. My debt to these people, whose works I admire, is great, and I trust that the copies of this dissertation will partially absolve it.

Archive research continued in Manaus, in the Arquivo Publico do Estado do Amazonas, Instituto Historico e Geographico, Biblioteca do Estado, and the Instituto Nacional das Pesquisas da Amazônia (INPA). With the exception of the last, however, my expectations for documents in the archives were disappointed. For some unknown reason, documents which I had every reason to believe would be found in these archives, were nowhere to be located. Nevertheless, the staffs at these archives were kind and helpful in my moments of frustration.

In the weeks before going into the Northwest region, Peter and Ana Silverwood-Cope gave me much good counsel from years of experience in the Vaupés River region. While I was on breaks from the field, my good friend José Ribamar Caldas Lima Filho gave unfailing assistance, hospitality, and good company at the FUNAI post at Jauareté on the Vaupés River. Dr. Daryl Domning of the INPA gave me a place to stay while on breaks in Manaus.

For transport into and out of the region, beginning in September 1976, I am grateful to the Delegate of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) in Manaus and to the many officials of the Brazilian Air Force (FAB) who had to listen to my pleas and persuasions to let me on their planes. The Salesian missionaries at Jauareté and at Carara-poço on the Içana River were helpful in times of difficulties and pain: a sore tooth, a chipped kneebone, and an oftentimes hungry stomach could usually be remedied by the kind Padres and

Irmãs, particularly Padre Antonio Scolaro (now deceased), Padre Carlos Galli, and Father Mike.

My most heartfelt thanks go to the people of the Aiary River. I dedicate this work and others to follow, to them. I hope to return to the Aiary River soon and to stay for a longer time doing useful services for the people, which were begun in the course of fieldwork. The people were exceptional hosts, warm friends and neighbors, and my memories of working together with them and sharing their sorrows and joys, still three years later pull me back to them. Above all I wish to state my gratitude to the chief and his wife of Hipana, and their sons and daughters; to Keramunhe and Nazaria of Kuliriana, and their sons and daughters; to Marco and Andelina of Santaré; and to Keroami and José, my most patient teachers.

Back home, the three advisers who helped me realize the entire project deserve a great deal of thanks: Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo, David G. Sweet and my principal advisor, Renato I. Rosaldo. Their patience, counsel and good humour have helped me in many ways. Their writings, published and unpublished, and their lectures, have had substantial influences on my thinking on many of the topics which form this thesis. I am also grateful to Dr. Terrence Turner of the University of Chicago who gave me invaluable assistance and detailed commentary on my interpretations of the Kuai myth in Part III. Dr. Turner also introduced me to the doctoral theses by Stephen and Christine Hugh-Jones, both of which are essential to understanding religion and cosmology in the Northwest Amazon region.

Dr. Shelton H. Davis, Director of the Anthropology Resource Center in Boston, has been immensely supportive throughout the long process of completion. My debt to him is lasting and great and I am proud to be currently associated with him. Perhaps more than anything else, I have learned from working with Sandy and ARC what it means to be a useful and concerned citizen who stands up for his own rights and the rights of others, and there is no better knowledge for humanity than that.

Finally, I owe special thanks to my family who gave me unfailing support, encouragement and assistance throughout this project. My parents and my elder brother offered me the hospitality of their homes at critical times in this difficult process. In a true spirit of solidarity, my elder brother Christopher and sister Anne have typed this dissertation into its final form. For their patience, tolerance, and sympathy, I express my most sincere gratitude.

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Preface

Since the middle of the nineteenth Century, the Indian people of the upper Rio Negro Valley in Brazil and the Upper Orinoco Valley in Venezuela have engaged in messianic and millenarian movements. In the long-range history of the Rio Negro Valley, native movements and rebellions date back to the first century of European colonization in the region. From the 1720's, when the Manao Indian leader Ajuricaba organized the tribes of the middle Rio Negro to resist the Portuguese rule, the struggles of native peoples against domination, exploitation and oppression have been almost never-ending. The Baniwa have had an important role in the formation of these struggles; the basic aim of this thesis is to document that role, its historical development and its religious foundations.

In one way, the task of writing Baniwa history is made easy because of their participation in millenarian revolts and messianic movements. Colonial authorities were most concerned with suppressing rebellions and quite often wrote extensive reports on them. Moreover, traditional Indian religion quickly caught the attention of early colonial observers. There has been a long history of missionary suppression of traditional religious practices, especially shamanism and the widespread cult of sacred flutes in Northwest Amazonia. The missionaries frequently left reports on this cult and the tactics they used to suppress it. On a few occasions, the missionaries' actions led to rebellion;

for example, in 1883, a group of Franciscans exposed the sacred masks of the Tariana Indians on the Vaupés River, and the Indians rose in revolt and expelled the Franciscans from the region. What has not been examined in any detail is the relationship between the millenarian revolts, or messianic movements and native religious beliefs and practices; nor have the oral histories told by the Baniwa and other Indians been examined for what can be learned about their participation in the movements.

Several anthropologists have suggested that Baniwa millenarianism can be understood through the mythology of the cult figure of "Yurupary" (Galvão, 1959; Schaden, 1959). Early twentieth Century ethnographers left convincing evidence that Baniwa millenarianism was a product of Christian evangelical beliefs and traditional mythical heroes (Koch-Grünberg, 1967). Suggestions have also been made that there are links between shamans and messiahs, and that the movements are directly related to socio-economic conditions of oppression and exploitation.

What is still needed in these accounts, however, is both a systematic historical narrative based on the massive amounts of documents on the Arawak-speaking tribes of the Upper Rio Negro region, and a systematic knowledge of traditional Indian religion. I hope that my historical narrative will not only fill that gap but also will contribute to the history of other Arawakan and Tukanoan-speaking peoples in the frontier region of northwestern Brazil and southeastern Venezuela. I have tried to make full use of the reports of military officials, government officials, missionaries, travellers, ethnographers, and a variety of newspaper accounts from all periods, since the time the region first became known and reported about to the present. In this way, I hope to flesh out the bare bones of Baniwa society and religion in past times, and their development to their present forms. I also believe that anthropologists all too often have readily dismissed the content, style, and tone of the early documents, failing to interpret them for what they reveal about the colonial mentality. This is extremely important to consider particularly during the millenial movements. Finally, I will draw extensively on my own fieldwork experience and firsthand knowledge of the people of the region to illuminate the documents and oral histories.

There are a number of oral histories told by the Indians of the Upper Rio Negro about the first contacts between these societies and the European invaders. Up until now, no systematic effort has been made either to understand these histories or to relate them to the documents. I will focus on several oral histories in this thesis and will make a series of direct correlations to the written sources. According to the oral histories, Baniwa society was, at one point, on the verge of extinction; but through the revitalization movements, the Indians were able to reconstruct and recreate the basis of their society.

The Brazilian ethnologist Mauricio Vinhas de Queiroz has concluded that the study of millenialism among the Tukuna Indians of the upper Solimões River in Brazil must consist of a history of contact, a study of mythology and cosmology, and of the socio-economic conditions which the Indians have faced:

> Tukuna millenarianism cannot be explained without having recourse to the mythology of the tribe, but the mythology alone does not explain the movement. It cannot be analyzed without taking into account the situation of poverty or deprivation, but this does not constitute a sufficient cause. It cannot be understood unless

> in terms of the contact with civilization, but it is not contact by itself that determines the movement; there are socio-economic conditions which come from it, in particular the domination and spoliation of the Indians by the rubber-gatherers who have seized their tribal lands and seek to impose on them a highly-damaging commerce.
>
> Tukuna millenarianism constitutes a praxis through which, consciously or unconsciously, the Indians seek to free themselves from dependence, domination, or subjection by the "civilized people." This objective is clearly understood by the rubber-workers, who never fail to interfere, through physical violence, threats, and appeals to the authorities.
>
> Tukuna millenarian beliefs are elaborated on the basis of pre-existing mythological material, but they are made to fit the necessities, as much subjective as objective, of an entirely new social situation. Thus, new ideas, whether originating from the "civilized people," or elaborated by the Indians themselves, become attached to the myths and traditional concepts, adapting and modifying them whenever necessary and possible. (M. Vinhas de Quieroz, 1963: 58-9)

I believe that this approach is equally appropriate for the study of Baniwa millenarianism and messianic movements. I have also benefited enormously from Wallace's excellent historical narrative of Seneca religious movements in The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (1969). The object of my study is the movements from all time periods after contact and among closely related tribes in the same geographical region. The material for this thesis is enormous, and requires systematic synthesis and interpretation whenever possible. In many instances, there were very severe problems with the nature of information in the documents which prevented me from exploring certain paths of inquiry. Lack of sufficient information, distortions or biases in the European perspective were the most persistent stumbling blocks. Except for the mid-nineteenth Century movements, I do not consider that my narrative and interpretations of the other time periods are at all complete. I have tried to use as much information as was available at the time of research. When this thesis is turned into a book, I will have to do more research in other archives which may provide more information for the history of the Baniwa. When other researchers of the Northwest Amazon region begin to pool their findings, the problems of this work can hopefully be resolved.

As yet, there has also been no systematic interpretation of Baniwa mythology or cosmology. Although the French anthropologist J. Bolens (1967) began a structural analysis of certain Baniwa myths, it was never completed. The kind of interpretation I shall offer differs entirely from Bolens, because I will focus on a single myth which is central to Baniwa religion, the myth of the culture-hero Kuai, the child of the Sun-father. The myth of Kuai explains a great deal of the foundations of millenarian beliefs in Baniwa religion. Thus it is essential to concentrate interpretations on the meanings of the single myth rather than to take a more global structuralist approach to the problem.

Following the comprehensive analysis advocated by T. Turner, I examine in Part III the myth of Kuai as a vision of world-order which explains and shapes concrete experience. I rely on both internal analysis of the text and the relation of myth to cosmology, shamans' rituals, and to initiation ceremonies. Following Burke (1957), I focus extensively on the uses of religious language to convey meaning. By examining the multiple layers and textures of symbolism in the myth, the relationships of the myth to millenarian and messianic ideas and beliefs become more explicit. I do not, however, intend this part of the thesis to be a comprehensive study of all Baniwa ritual, shamanism, and mythology.

The thesis is divided into five parts, together with appendices. Part I is an ethnographic description of the Baniwa people, particularly the Hohodene, who live on the Aiary River where I conducted fieldwork in 1976-77. It is intended to describe the situation of the Baniwa peoples particularly with relation to the missions and the merchants, and it provides basic information on indigenous social, economic and religious organization.

Parts II and III contain the principal data on which this thesis is based. Part II, along with all of Appendix B, is a long-range history of the Baniwa people, beginning in pre-colonial times and ending with the early twentieth Century. It is divided into historical periods: the pre-colonial; from slavery to the establishment of colonial government on the Upper Rio Negro; social reformation; a second wave of colonial expansion on the Upper Rio Negro, and the millenarian movements of the mid-nineteenth Century; and the rubber boom from the late nineteenth Century to the turn of the twentieth Century. One of the principal concerns throughout the history is to correlate and interpret oral history together with the documents from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth Centuries.

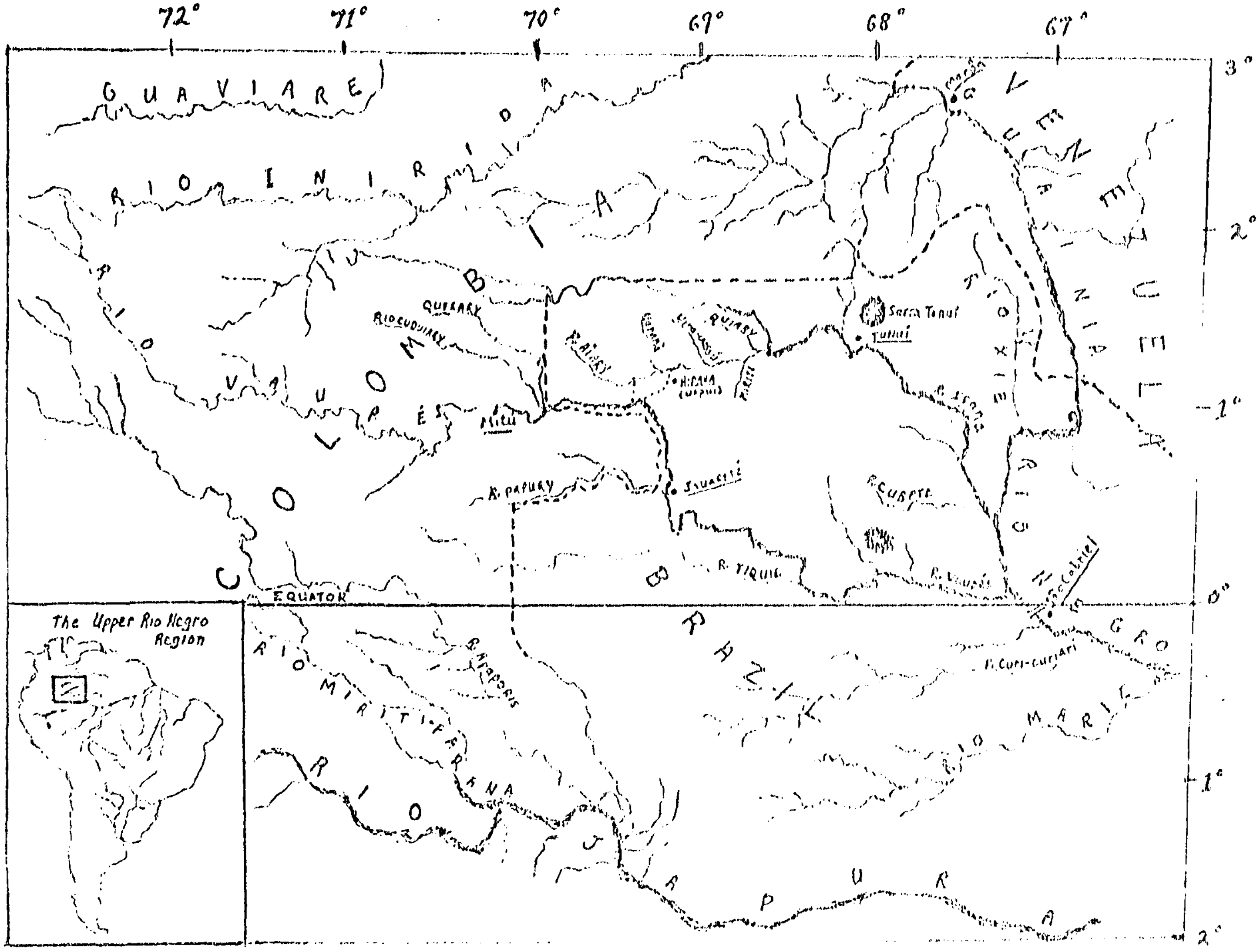
Parts III, V, and Appendix A contain descriptions and interpretations of traditional Baniwa religion. In Part V, a number of important myths are presented, with brief commentaries, notes and explanation. In Appendix A, the initiation rituals for children are described in detail with some commentaries and explanation, but the interpretation is kept to a minimum. The focus of Part III is a comprehensive ethnography and interpretation of the myth of Kuai. This myth is told to explain four topic areas which constitute the divisions of Part III: the creation and transmission of socio-cultural norms from the first ancestors to all descendants; the beginning of sickness and misfortune; the processes of life-passage and ritual, especially initiation; the creative and generative relationships among spirit, human, and animal domains in the cosmos. The interpretation of each topic area focusses on how the myth is an explanation, through its uses of religious language. In order to understand fully the myth, references are made to other myths collected in Part V. Particular attention is given to narrators of the myth, how their life-stories influence their narration, and styles in narrating. A fully-annotated text of the unabridged myth of Kuai is found at the end of Part III.

Part IV, the conclusion of the thesis, relates the messianic and millenarian movements to the myth of Kuai. Special attention is drawn to the similarity of messianic language to shamanistic language and to the Kuai myth. Some more general remarks are made about the relationships among myth, oral history, and religious movements.

PART I: ABOUT THE BANIWA OF THE AIARY RIVER

A few ethnographic surveys of the Aiary River people were done in the first quarter of the Twentieth Century. The German ethnographer Koch-Grünberg lived for several months on the Aiary in 1903 and provided the first and until now, only ethnography of the people. The three chapters of Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern and references in various articles are still good sources of information, especially for descriptions of material culture. Besides, the entire book is an important document for that time. Curt Nimuendajú provided a brief sketch in 1927 as part of a statistical survey of the entire Vaupés/Içana region by the S.P.I. (Serviço de Proteção do Indio). This was followed a year later by a survey of the First Commission on Limits between Colombia and Brazil (See especially Lopes de Sousa, Do Rio Negro ao Orenoco). Following these, the latest work is my own in 1976-77. Shortly after I left the Aiary in 1977, Dr. Berta Ribeiro worked for a month in the same village I shall come to describe at length; the focus of her study was on aspects of material culture, basketry, and work.

For the Baniwa people of the Içana River, the fieldwork has somewhat greater continuity. Besides the early ethnographers mentioned above, the late Dr. E. Galvão in 1951 conducted a study of culture change and began a large project on the history of the Upper Rio Negro region. In 1956 and 1958, a Salesian Padre Wm. Saake of the Catholic University in São Paolo, spent several months collecting myths and stories on shamans and on dance-festivals (See all references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GUAINIA
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RIO NEGRO
BRAZIL
RIO MARIE
RIO JAPURA
RIO MIRITI-PARANA
R. Apaporis
EQUATOR
QUERARY
RIO CUDUIARY
R. PAPURY
Mitú
R. Aiary
Quiasy
Hipana (Cuipuis)
Jauareté
R. TIQUIE
R. Içana
Serra Tunuí
Tunuí
R. Cubate
R. Uaupés
São Gabriel
R. Curi-curiari
The Upper Rio Negro Region

Map 1

Scale : 50 Km.

in Bibliography). In 1971, Dr. Adelia de Oliveira Rodrigues, a collaborator of Galvão's, updated the findings on culture change on the Içana and besides, published a list of Baniwa kinship terminology. These other works I have cited may be consulted for a wider perspective on Baniwa society and culture.

A. The People

The fieldwork on which this thesis is based was conducted over a thirteen month period from September 1976 to October 1977 among the several Baniwa sibs who live on the Aiary River, a tributary of the Içana in the Upper Rio Negro region of Northwest Brazil. For approximately eight months of the total I worked with the people of one village called Hipana (or Uapui as it is known by outsiders), where the largest rapids on the Aiary River flows in unceasing course throughout the year. Hipana village, situated on the high level ground above the rapids, has the largest number of inhabitants of any settlement on the Aiary, slightly over 100 people. Most of the people living there know themselves as Hohodene, a sib of the Baniwa and their affines, the Oalipere-dakenai (or Siuci in the Nheengatú or lingua geral, the old colonial trade language of the Amazonas, still used in remote parts of the Rio Negro Valley). In the other five months of my stay, I lived in several smaller villages on the Uaraná stream, a tributary of the upper Aiary, also with Hohodene and Oalipere, and in two villages of the middle Aiary, of Hohodene and another Baniwa sib called Maulieni. The Maulieni (or Kawa in lingua geral) consider themselves one among a "family" of five brother-sibs to which the Hohodene also belong: Oalipere belong to a different "family" and are the principal affines of Hohodene and Maulieni today.

All of these sibs are known by outsiders as "Baniwa," a cover term which has come to apply to all of the twenty to twenty-five sibs on the Içana and Aiary Rivers, as well as to certain Arawak-speaking groups living in Venezuela. The Hohodene know by the name "Baniwa" a group living on the upper Rio Negro, very near its source where it is called the Guainia River. There, in the Departamento Cassiquiare del Territorio Federal Amazonas, the "true Baniwa" reside, especially around a village called Maroa. In this thesis, I shall use "Aiary River Baniwa" or "Içana River Baniwa" when speaking in general of the several sibs who dwell on these rivers, but more often and when needed, I will specify with sib-names.

From a survey of the Aiary River I conducted in 1976, there were twenty-five settlements or villages on the main river and on the four principal streams (the Uaraná, Uirauassú, Mirití, and Quiary) which flow into it. Nine of the villages were predominantly Hohodene, eight Oalipere, three Maulieni, one or two Cubeo and several near the mouth of the river were mixed of Hohodene, Oalipere and Mawethana sibs. The population on the Aiary was about 650 and in comparison with the last population census in 1928, this represents an increase by one-third for the Aiary people.

The settlements are widely dispersed, distant from one another several hours travel by canoe or trail. The majority of the settlements are located on the high-level ground slightly away from the river. Several very small settlements are situated at the headwaters of numerous small streams flowing into the river, but these may only be temporary shelters, located near garden land and occupied seasonally. In general, settlements are composed of clusters of single-family houses. Few, if any multifamily longhouses, or malocas, the traditional dwelling-places of all people on the Aiary up to about a generation ago, exist any more. In a few settlements, there are longhouses but for single- or at most two-families. Perhaps the last of the longhouse settlements was destroyed five years ago by missionary pressure. The number of these single-family houses ranges between two and fifteen, settlement size from four to seventy people or more. (Hipana, with 100, is extraordinarily large because it is a recent aggregation of the people from several settlements by the missionaries who urged one entire village to move to Hipana for the education of their children in school.) The average size of the settlement is actually between thirty and forty people.

Below the Aiary River, on the Içana and its tributaries, Baniwa number upwards of one thousand, living in at least fifty settlements. No census of the upper Içana seems to have been done since 1927-28 when this figure was determined. Salesian missionaries claim that there are only thirty-six Baniwa settlements on all rivers today, but this figure is much too low considering the twenty-five on the Aiary.

The people of the Aiary speak a dialect of the Arawak language which they recognize as different from several other Arawak dialects spoken by related sibs on the Içana, by the "true Baniwa," and by the Tariana people of the Vaupés River. Several of the Baniwa dialects are named and associated with people living in a distinct geographical area: Kuripako is spoken by sibs of the upper Içana who are kin of the Hohodene and Maulieni; *Karutana* was once spoken primarily on the lower Içana, but now it is widely dispersed; *En-hen* is spoken by two small sibs on the lower Içana and a people called Wathiwa who, I was told, inhabit the forest near the confluence of the Aiary and Içana. *Nheengatú*, or *lingua geral*, is spoken predominantly on the lower Içana River, around the Catholic mission post. *Nheengatú* and Portuguese are spoken by all the *caboclos*, or poor Brazilian mestiços, of the upper Rio Negro and lower Içana.[1] People of the Aiary River know Nheengatú but rarely use it outside of conversation with the Içana River people. Portuguese and Spanish are also spoken as a second language, learned in mission schools, from long association with Brazilians, or from work experience in Colombia or Venezuela.

The Aiary River Baniwa maintain strong ties with the Tukanoan-speaking people on the Vaupés and Querary Rivers, immediately west and north of the Aiary. Several trails connect the Aiary River villages with Cubeo and Wanano on these rivers. Many Baniwa, if not fluent in Wanano or Cubeo, understand these languages, and the relationships with both people have considerable historical depth. Several times in the past Cubeo or Wanano made settlements on the upper Aiary. Today, Hohodene and Oalipere frequently make exchange-marriages with both groups, sometimes hold ceremonials with them, or procure their shamans' cures. It may be accurate to say that Hohodene consider Wanano and Cubeo closer affines and kin than several of the Baniwa sibs on the Içana River.

Finally, the Aiary River Baniwa have ties with the several Arawak-speaking peoples who live in Venezuela, especially the Puinave, Piaroa and a group called Wanhiwa who live in the region of the Atabapo, Vichada and Guaviare Rivers in Venezuela. On several occasions in 1976-7, Hohodene made prolonged visits to these people, to visit immediate family (recent migrants from the Aiary), or to make more special purpose visits: youths collecting piaçaba (vines for ropes and fibre), or shamans going to request special favors of Wanhiwa shamans. (Possibly the Wanhiwa are the same as the "Baniwa" cited above, but I am more inclined to think they may be Guahibo.)

B. Antiquity of Occupation

A hypothesis about the pre-historic occupation of the Vaupés and Içana regions was offered by Nimuendajú (1950:163+) and it has been simply accepted by later writers (for instance, Galvão, 1959). My view is that the hypothesis is probably correct in part, but is in need of some modification. I will first paraphrase Nimuendajú, then suggest some changes and present the evidence on which I base my suggestions. I do not present a systematic critique of the hypothesis, for this would require the analysis of a large body of linguistic data, which it is beyond my competence and the scope of the thesis to do. Other writers have already accomplished work on this (for instance Matos Arvelo, 1908).

Nimuendajú suggests a three-stage occupation of the region. First, several groups of semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers, known generically as Makú, are presumed to be the most ancient inhabitants of the region. Second, various Arawak-speaking and Tukanoan-speaking people migrated from regional centers, the Arawak from the upper Orinoco and

Guainía in Venezuela, and the Tukanoans from the Eastern part of the continent. Third, a "hybrid" culture was formed in the encounter between Arawakans and Tukanoans and Europeans from the time of their first contacts in the eighteenth Century. It can be seen that the general lines of this hypothesis, that is of an "ancient strata" and later "waves of migration" accord with a certain kind of nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropology; the lines of this hypothesis have been suggested for a variety of other lowland peoples (for instance, the Yanoama: see the good critical discussion in Wm. Smole, 1976: 16-18).

The Arawak invasion is supposed to have taken place in successive waves. Major Arawak groups came to settle in the Rio Negro Valley as follows: Baré on the mid-to-upper Rio Negro and the Cassiquiare Canal; the now nearly-extinct Manao on the middle Rio Negro and its tributaries, especially the Yurubaxi; Uarequena on the Rio Xié and lower Içana; "Baniwa" (comprised of ten sibs) on the Içana and the Vaupés (particularly the upper region around the Querary River); and the Tariana, according to a legend of their migration (in Amorim, 1927: 181+), came after Baniwa had settled on the Içana and migrated by way of the upper Aiary to the Vaupés, settling on the banks around Jauareté and the Papury River.

The "Baniwa invasions" were supposed to have resulted in the aboriginal Makú becoming assimilated and adopting Arawak culture elements. People such as the Hohodene and their affines, the Kadapolithana, were, according to Nimuendajú, "once Makú" who were "arawak-ized." The culture traits of the Arawak are listed as follows: a sedentary riverine settlement pattern; longhouses (malocas), manioc gardens, dugout canoes, blowguns, tucum-fibre hammocks and elaborate ceramic art. Their social organization had exogamous patri-clans; their religion was based on the cult of Kuai-Yuruparí, and their funeral rites included secondary burial in urns deposited in caves (1950: 164).

To begin the discussion, no archeological work seems to have been done anywhere in the Upper Rio Negro Valley. Few potential sites have yet even been found, although a burial cavern on the lower Içana was reported by Nimuendajú in 1927. Possibilities include ceremonial sites on the Vaupés and Içana, and sites indicated in the traditions of the peoples on both rivers as locations of past wars and famous battles. It seems clear on the basis of the numerous petroglyphs found on or near the rapids throughout the region, however, that occupation dates from pre-historic times. These petroglyphs (for which see Wallace, 1853; Spruce, 1908; Stradelli, 1901; and Koch-Grünberg, 1903 and -07), carved in granite, are invariably attributed by the people living near them today, to be the works of their own first ancestors who left their marks on the rocks during the sacred times of myth. Quite often, their meaning is related directly to sacred stories of "Yuruparí" and to ancestral emergence and migrations. There is, for instance, a very rich tradition regarding the petroglyphs at the rapids of Hipana on the Aiary. Several Arawak people on the Guaviare and Inirida Rivers, as well as on the Vaupés, consider Hipana Rapids as a sacred place of the world-navel and recount their sacred origins from the rapids. In a larger perspective, many of the petroglyph rapids are located in an area where Arawak-speaking people have lived for centuries.

With respect to the assertion that the Hohodene and Kadapolithana were "Arawak-ized," here I find the evidence very thin. The basis for the hypothesis is never really made clear, and from what I could gather of Hohodene oral traditions, they do not suggest this at all. The myths of their first ancestors state that they inhabited the region of the upper Uaraná tributary of the Aiary, while the Kadapolithana inhabited the area around Tunui and above on the Içana River. Sacred stories of the first ancestors of both people state they relied on fish as a principal food resource, that is, the riverine environment was their principal cultural and economic focus, rather than the forest. The oral traditions cited extensively below make it clear, moreover, that at least from the times of their contacts with white people in the nineteenth Century, the Hohodene and Kadapolithana inhabited riverine locations. The Hohodene believe that from unspecified ancestral times until the present day they have had strong links with Arawak-speaking peoples living in Venezuela, the Wanhiwa and others mentioned above. They state that in "long ago" times, a group of ancestral Hohodene had a different name, Dayzo-dakenai (untranslatable) but that these differently named ancestors lived on or around the Aiary River and then at some point went to live on the Guaviare River in Venezuela. They mention other ancestral people who lived on the Aiary and who similarly went to Venezuela (for unknown reasons), leaving their descendants. (One such people they called Adarupuweni, "children of the Macaw," who lived on the Quiary River off the lower Aiary. In the earliest documentary reference to Baniwa, Padre Juan Rivero speaks of a people known as Atarruberrenai around the region of the Guaviare River in 1701 (Rivero, 1956: 36-7). These may have been the same people from the Quiary.)

Nimuendajú's assertion may not, therefore, be accepted without reservations. Hohodene with whom I spoke on one or two occasions were ambiguous, saying that "long, long ago" they had been "Makú;" but what they meant was that their ancestors were "fierce" warriors. They used the term "Makú" in a loose sense to apply to many people who wage war. It is partly a perjorative: the ancestors waged wars, "did not eat fish or game, but only ate people" and so on; but this was not the same as equating their life-styles with the "Makú" who inhabit the interfluves in the Vaupés drainage today. Finally, Hohodene state that one of their kin, the Maulieni sib, are "our makun" and that not so long ago, these people did inhabit the interfluve and spoke a different language.

The source for Nimuendajú's assertion was an earlier one by Koch-Grünberg, that the Hohodene were "dominated" by Oalipere-dakenai on the Aiary, and that they bore physical resemblances to other "Makú" peoples whom Koch-Grünberg had seen (Koch-Grünberg, 1967: 47-8). There is no tradition today to support this, and in none of the Oalipere statements to me was there a suggestion that they had ever "dominated" the Hohodene. The story was rather that they had made an alliance in the nineteenth Century (see Part II, below). Koch-Grünberg very probably mistook the Hohodene for the Maulieni.

The evidence from languages and dialects is complex. The three main dialects spoken by Baniwa on the Içana and tributaries are recognized by the Hohodene, at least, as "different speeches," but my impression was that they were not what might be considered mutually unintelligible.

Kuripako speakers, for example, of the upper Içana could speak with their kin of the upper Aiary, and it did not require much effort for them to understand each other immediately. Hohodene said that the dialects of the lower Içana were somewhat more difficult, and even further afield, the "Baniwa" of the Guainía River was un-intelligible to them. From comparisons of word-lists, there do appear to be wide dissimilarities between the "Baniwa" in Venezuela and the dialects in Brazilian territory. Hohodene who made visits into Venezuela said they would communicate through Spanish when they went on brief visits; but that during longer stays, they might learn their language.

The other major Arawak dialect spoken in the region is Tariana (for which, see the good dictionary by Pe. A. Giacone, 1932), similar in many vocabulary items to the Baniwa of the Aiary. The question of whether Tariana can communicate with Baniwa today is moot, for Tariana now speak predominantly Tukano. Documentary evidence from the eighteenth Century shows, however, that Tariana and Baniwa were once neighbors on the Vaupés and both then spoke what appeared to an observer to be "common tongues" (Pe. Ignazio Szentmartonyi, Sequente Notitiate de Rio Negro, 1755, p. 1. A complete translation of this document is found as Appendix B.1.(a).).

A closer analysis of the linguistic evidence would probably show more than I am able to state now; but the Aiary River Baniwa show in many ways that they share a sense of cultural and ethnic identity with all other Arawak-speaking of Venezuela and Brazil. Their religious traditions are very similar; many have the figure of "Yuruparí" in their mythologies (known by different names among the various peoples: Kue for the Tariana, Queti for the Wanhiwa and now-extinct Maypure and probably the Achagua[2]) and the sacred flute cults. Ancestral emergence traditions also unite people of distant regions. In short, the "wave" hypothesis of Nimuendajú and of Koch-Grünberg emphasizes too much the separateness among people who perceive themselves to be related by a wider unity despite geographical separation.

Written documents from the early-to-mid eighteenth Century place Baniwa in the following locations: in the region of the Guaviare River in Venezuela (Rivero, 1956: 37) and on the Içana and over a stretch of the Vaupés River (see the Ethno-Historic Map in Part II.B.).

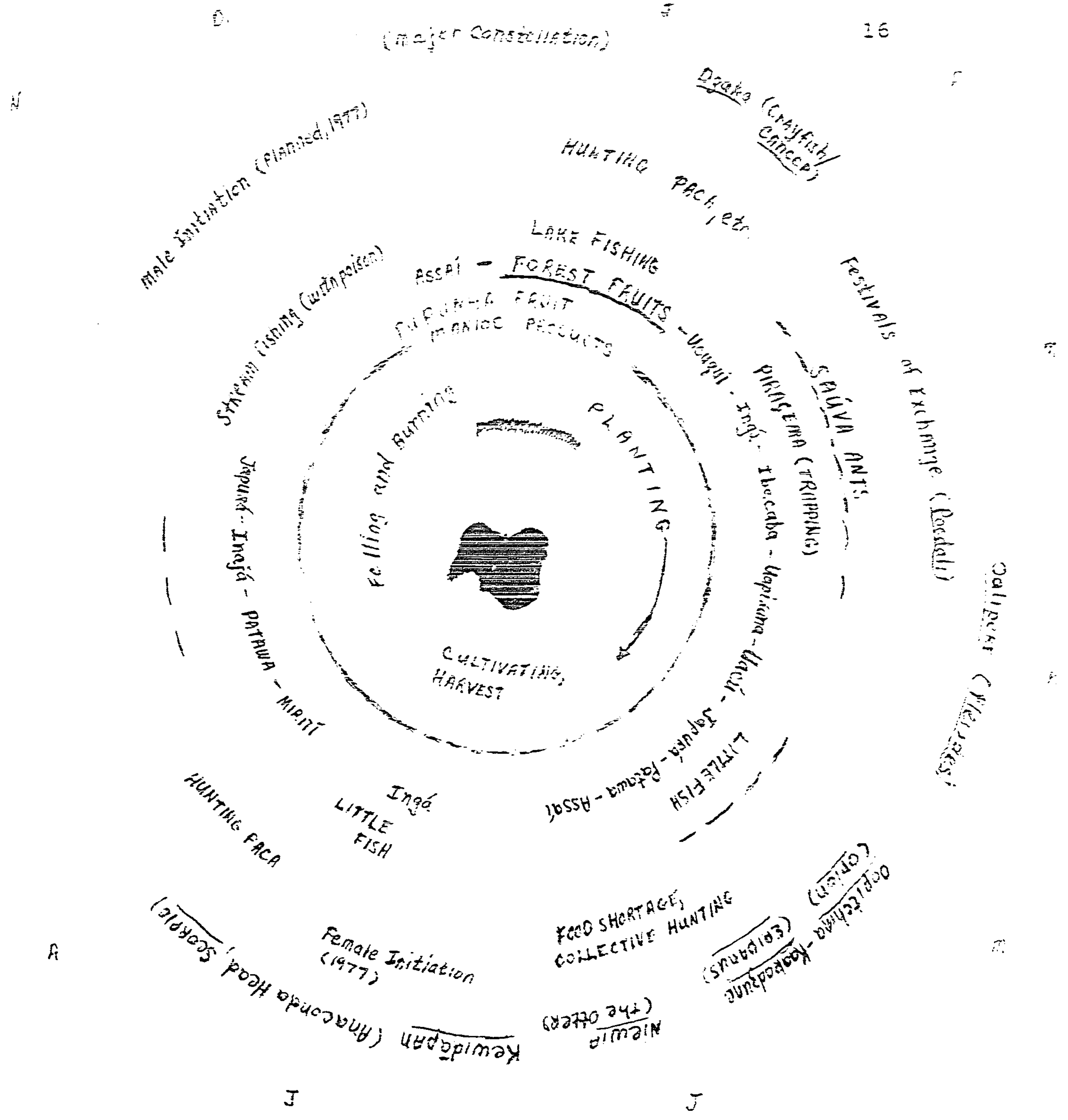
In Nimuendajú's hypothesis, the last significant "wave of occupation" was that of the colonists and missionaries who first began entering the Upper Rio Negro region early in the eighteenth Century, along with mestiço descendants of native and white peoples from other areas. The long history of that contact will be discussed in detail in Part II. Generally speaking, this history shows clearly that the Baniwa have experienced a series of "waves" of colonial occupation, but that they have had a significant rôle in determining the history of such occupation. In the mid-to-late eighteenth Century, colonists by and large sought to remove Baniwa from their traditional territory and take them to live and work in settlements on the Rio Negro. Coupled with the devastating effects of epidemic diseases, and the severe disruption brought about by the intruding colonists, few Baniwa appear to have survived in the Upper Rio Negro region by the end of the eighteenth Century. The few who did survive attempted to recreate the basis of a viable society by forming new social alliances and by affirming these with religious rituals. In the early-to-mid nineteenth Century, merchants and the military impressed Baniwa as laborers in the extractive economies of the region. In mid-nineteenth Century, the provincial government began a program to "civilize" and "catechize" the Indians of Amazonas. This brought about oppressive burdens of suffering, debt and sickness among Baniwa, and by the late 1850's, they were forced to rebel. Baniwa have traditions of millenialism, which are explored fully in this thesis in Part III. These traditions have provided a "model for" the millenial movements in which Baniwa have been engaged since at least the mid-nineteenth Century.

For over three-quarters of a century, rubber extraction has brought a brutal series of waves of occupation in the Northwest Amazon region. The Baniwa had to face these waves once again in their full impact, and their survival was placed at stake as a result. On several occasions, they resorted to the modes of adaptation which their ancestors found useful when confronting the white man's rage for gaining wealth: rebellion, millenarian movements, or assimilating to colonial society.

The processes of colonial expansion which have occured over the past three centuries continue today. The long history shows, however, that the term "waves of occupation" is perhaps too simplistic and one-sided, because it ignores the active role which Baniwa and other people of the URN region have had in shaping the history of the region.

C. Subsistence, Extraction and Production for Markets

The chart on the following page summarizes the annual cycle of subsistence activities, based on my observations of one year. In this section, I will describe the organization of each of the activities briefly.


D
J
(major Constellation)
N
F
Dzaka (Crayfish/Cancer)
HUNTING PACA, etc.
Male Initiation (Planned, 1977)
LAKE FISHING
ASSAÍ – FOREST FRUITS – Ucuqui - Ingá - Ibacaba - Uapiúna - Uacú - Japurá - Patawa - Assaí
Stream Fishing (with poison)
PUPUNHA FRUIT
MANIOC PRODUCTS
Felling and Burning
PLANTING
CULTIVATING, HARVEST
SAÚVA ANTS
PIRACEMA (TRIPPING)
Festivals of Exchange (Pocstali)
M
Dallpuri (Pleiades)
A
Japurá - Ingá - PATAWA - MIRITI
LITTLE FISH
Ingá
LITTLE FISH
HUNTING PACA
FOOD SHORTAGE, COLLECTIVE HUNTING
Oopitchna-Kopkodunc (Orion)
(Epidanus)
M
A
Female Initiation (1977)
Kewidapan (Anaconda Head, Scorpio)
Niewip (the otter)
J
J

Subsistence Cycle (Adapted from B. Meggers, 1971)

Rains ▨
Away from villages ▨
Staple Food ▬
Secondary food —
Sporadic - - - -

Gardening: While in the field, I devoted a great deal of time working with people in the tasks of garden-making: cutting, felling, planting, and so on. Partly this was a work-exchange for my own consumption of garden-products in daily communal meals; partly it was a more general concern to understand the situation of land resources and utilization on the Aiary. I came to realize that productive land for gardens is, in reality, very unevenly distributed. On a few parts of the river, particularly around Hipana and slightly above, "terra firme" is found near to settlements. In these areas, people have been able to farm within a radius since at least the first quarter of this century. Yet, these areas of good land are like pockets, situated between vast areas of (a) semi-arid land, with large tables of silicous rock, extending from the river banks far into the forest, (b) caatinga, sandy areas with low woods and sparce vegetation, (c) extensive areas of igapós, flooded forest in which the water remains stagnant for long periods after the flood season, often with large river lakes adjoining them.

Following the classification of rivers that is commonly used in studies of Amazonian ecosystems, the Aiary is predominantly "black water" with exactly the characteristics listed above. (These rivers are often called "starvation rivers," for the limited resources they are said to have; see B. Meggers, 1971, for descriptions. Most of the Rio Negro and its right bank tributaries are "black water" rivers.) I was told by Hohodene at Hipana that the people on the lower Aiary and on the Içana "don't have gardens" and suffer a great deal because of this. Productive land is extremely scarce in that area and even where it is found, "the soil is poor." (Galvão, 1959: 23) Often, people are forced to make gardens at great distances from their settlements, at the headwaters of streams. They leave their settlements in the months of cutting, felling, and later planting, and live in temporary shelters in their gardens. Once the tasks have been finished, they return to their settlements and visit their gardens periodically thereafter. For instance, the people of several settlements on the lower Aiary have made agreements with the people around Hipana to farm the terra firme which exists within a wide radius around the rapids. (This dichotomy of garden settlement/riverine settlement may be a historical development, which will be considered in detail in Part II.)

Gardens are generally made in areas of yellowish terra firme soil, or in black soils (judged to be far better for root crops, for the soil is softer). Preferences are then for areas without large trees, without leaf-cutter (saúva) ants, near riverbanks, and, for better drainage, sloping land with perhaps a stream running through or nearby. Locations of fruit-trees (e.g., pupunha and patawa) are important considerations. On the average, garden size ranges from one-and-a-half to two acres; they are generally round to elliptical in shape, and the soil of the terra firme is cultivated for two or three seasons, then left to fallow for fifteen to twenty before re-use. Most families have two gardens, a few hard-working families have three, or two very large gardens. Garden land is said to be "given" by fathers to sons, but "owning" is more often spoken of in terms of those who work the garden: both husband and wife say "my gardens."

Brush, small and large trees are cut and felled in the very early dry season by men individually, in small groups, or in a few villages by a system called ajuri (collective work groups where all men of a village cut and fell the garden of one, in return for which the owners of the garden provide food and sometimes beer. This system can benefit every garden-owner in the village, providing that all men work together, making the tasks of cutting and felling less difficult and time-consuming, but I observed (and participated) in this system in Hipana village only; in most other villages, gardens were cut individually or by small groups. Galvão (1959: 21-3) describes the ajuri on the Içana, where it predominated in the 1950's.) Burning occurs whenever there is an extended period of sunshine. When these tasks are done, husband and wife transport the heavy baskets of manioc sticks from the old garden to the new and leave them at the entrance. An elder then may apply growth-"remedies" to the tops of the manioc sticks, smearing a plant-paste over them and reciting spells. Well before the heavy rains begin (in the time of the Pleiades), an elder (father or mother of the garden-owners) begins planting a small patch of manioc in the garden middle, turning the earth and reciting spells, invoking Kaali (who began manioc; see M.5.0, Part V) who will ensure the growth of the new gardens. The small patch is then left to grow and any time later, both garden-owners plant (with digging-sticks) all crops.

The staple crop is bitter manioc; sweet manioc is second in importance; a variety of different kinds of each are known and planted. Gardens are also planted with sugar cane, sweet potatoes, pineapple, plantains, bananas, and especially pupunha fruit trees. Pupunha is a highly esteemed fruit; and in the sacred stories Baniwa tell it is a dry season fruit which was given to people to ensure good health and growth. People can hardly eat enough of it cooked, made into drink, or mixed with sugar cane and left to ferment into a tasty and potent brew. Gardens are also planted by men with tobacco (with several varieties from Venezuela), coca (in very limited quantities), medicinal plants, fish poison plants, and others, for example, onions, chosen for experimentation. Maize is found in only a few gardens; it is traded from the Wanano of the Vaupés.

Cultivating and harvesting are the daily work of women, although men make frequent visits to pick tobacco leaves. On an average day, women set off early in the morning with their children and work until mid-afternoon, when they return to the village carrying one or two carrying-baskets, each filled with about sixty manioc tubers. From mid-afternoon on, women work in scraping tubers, washing, scraping with ralos, squeezing with tipitís, and processing the mass into farinha cereal or circles of bread. Much of this is for immediate family consumption, but a portion is set aside for storage, to be sold later to missionaries or merchants.

Around the villages are smaller areas of cultivation. Immediately behind each house, there is a small plot for medicinal plants and several kinds of pepper. (Capsicum pepper is a daily part of meals, along with manioc bread.) On the outer edges of these plots, most households keep their own clusters of plantains, pineapple (in sandy earth), and fruit trees, especially pupunha. Finally, in the few Aiary villages where missionaries have been influential, the large areas of cleared land behind the village (called halapokoli, or "campo") are cultivated by most households with manioc. These "community gardens," however, are often difficult to maintain because of nests of leaf-cutter ants which sometimes form a vast underground network.

Gathering in the forest is an important activity for it provides a source of raw materials, medicinal plants, and food. Knowledge of plants, trees, their uses and whereabouts is, of course, quite extensive and detailed. The collecting of forest-fruits is usually done by both men and women, but when large quantities are gathered for festivals, youths and men take on the tasks of gathering while women take care of all processing of fruits into drink. Gathering may sometimes be done on the way to and from gardens, but whole days may also be set aside for it. Forest-fruits are gathered in abundance throughout the year; and the ripening times of fruits are explicitly referred to as seasonal time-markers. Large quantities of forest-fruits are gathered, processed and consumed during the year: some roasted (uacú nuts in April and May), cooked with pepper (Japura in October) but most often mixed with water and manioc bread to make a soupy and semi-sweet drink. Besides the daily consumption, forest-fruits are highly important for ritual life, ceremonial exchanges, dance-festivals, and rituals of initiation. In the sacred myths Baniwa tell, Kuai, the culture-hero, made all forest-fruits and began the festivals when these are exchanged. These festivals are of central importance in Baniwa ritual life; and in Section III, I shall have more to say of the sacred story which explains their origin.

In the area of *fishing*, the distribution of resources on the Aiary is the inverse of the situation in gardening: where garden land is scarce, on the lower river, there are several large lakes which abound in fish of all kinds, while on the upper river, where garden land is more plentiful, fishing is generally poorer. Baniwa are excellent fishers and know a large variety of techniques for taking fish: hook and line, machete, tri-prong spear, bow and arrow, various plant poisons, and many kinds of traps and nets. Certain times of the year are devoted especially to fish-trapping, particularly when fish of all kinds ascend the rivers to spawn. Depending on the rains and the level of the river, when fish are plentiful, a household may catch a full basket of fish or it may catch very few. The same is true for fish-poisoning in small streams.

During the summer months when the river is low, the traditional practice is to leave the villages, closing all houses, and travel down to the great lakes at the mouth of the Aiary and on the Içana for fishing. There they pitch camps on the beaches and stay from a week up to a month, putting plant poison into the lakes, setting large traps, and gathering the harvest. This practice is one which has a basis in various myths of the first ancestors. Baniwa look forward to it very much as a time to disperse from settled life, visit with kin on other parts of the river as well as get many baskets of fish roasted, wrapped and stored for future consumption, or for use in trade. In general, fishing is an activity for both men and women, though youths and men are more likely to spend whole days at it than women, whose work focusses on processing what they catch.

Baniwa men are active hunters. Whenever an opportunity presents itself and hunting supplies are at hand, men go off, individually or in twos or threes, to hunt. They leave in the morning just before dawn, walking great distances along forest-trails or following streams all day long in pursuit of game. Night-hunting for paca along stream banks is also done frequently. This animal is by far the most sought-after game in season, others being an occasional jaguar, tapir, deer, small rodents, monkeys, sloths, and various kinds of fowl. The forests around the immediate river area have, the men say, been considerably depleted since the introduction of the shotgun; and in villages where people rely principally on blowguns, animals are caught only infrequently today. Game is plentiful only at the very headwaters of streams or deep in the woods near the hills; and an admired hunter is one who will walk or travel great distances with or without trails to find it. One time during the year, when hunger was particularly severe, nearly all the men of Hipana village organized a collective expedition to the hills in the forest some three days away. There, splitting up into twos and threes, they hunted as many animals as they could carry back to the village. On the return home, those whose loads were light or who had caught no game at all, gathered fruits and raw materials. (In anticipation of such times of hunger, most households keep chickens, roosters and ducks as pets. One or two of these may then be killed as a last resort, when there is no game or fish to be had.)

Small game is likely to be consumed by the individual family of the hunter; but in a time of extreme shortage, one bird may be divided among three families. When larger game is caught, the choice parts are distributed to members of the family; and the remaining portions are then boiled by the women, pounded in mortars by the men, and shared out at communal meals to all the people in the village. Thanks to the ever-watchful eyes of the children, when any appreciable game is taken, everyone in the village soon knows, and "waits" to see it on the table that night. A failure to share the game, or any hoarding of food is disapproved. "When we have food," people say, "we give it to others. This is our way."

Extraction and production for markets: Work histories of the majority of adults on the Aiary River show that they have done one or more kinds of extractive labor for patrones. Many old people remember having worked rubber (balata, seringa) in Colombia and Venezuela during the 1920's and 30's and later, piaçaba (vines for making brooms) and castanha (brazil nuts) around Tapuruquara on the Vaupés. Most adults remember the rubber patrones of the 1950's and '60's and have had at least three years experience working rubber; some people have worked as many as a dozen consecutive years in Colombia.

To give an idea of how people remember the rubber-working of a generation ago, I will briefly sketch a few of the many stories I heard of these times. People say that Colombianos came to the Aiary and "took many people," up to fifty men and women on any one trip, to work in places such as Miraflores on the upper Vaupés in Colombia. There, people were made to live in forest-villages of large shelters, under the supervision of patrones and overseers. The labor was by contract; agreements were made to work for fixed numbers of months, gathering fixed numbers of tons of latex in a season. The patrones and overseers controlled the comings and goings of the workers, seeing to it that six days a week, they were off at dawn to collect on designated trails and returned by nightfall. Patrones were the managers of the books, calculating and determining if and when peoples' debts had been paid. When they were, patrones had the power to liquidate the contract and send people back home with the proper papers to pass the border station on the upper Vaupés.

The work was extremely difficult. Several people told stories of how they could not bear the constant suffering and had fled and returned by trails to their homes. Husbands and wives were often separated from one another. If a woman stayed home with her children while her husband went off to gather rubber, she had to assume single-handedly the work of providing food for the family, or rely on kinfolk in other households for help. Life was even more difficult in those times if people had to work for a harsh patrón, or a cruel overseer, who brandished a machete when people were reluctant to go with them, or flogged the men who did not bring in enough latex. Ex-convicts were among the rubber-working crew foremen.

Not all Colombians were this bad, however, and some are remembered as having treated people well. The wages were good, people thought, for with them they could get shotguns, clothes and other needed items for their families and themselves. Yet many people fell prey to the life of the cities nearby; and if one was not careful, his hard-earned cash could be frittered away on drink, in the dance-halls, or worse yet be stolen on the streets.

The life-stories of many of the adults focus on their work-experiences. From adolescence on through the time of marrying and having children, men were going to and returning from far-off places in search of wages. Rubber-tapping and other extractive labor have left an indelible impression among the Baniwa, of white people as patrones, people who do not themselves work, but "order others" (the Baniwa) to work. Patrones are either good (helpful) or bad (tending to make people suffer) but they invariably have the trade goods which the Baniwa "need" and make them work to obtain them. This inequality between the haves and the have-nots is a pervasive feature of the relations between white people and Baniwa, one which determines Baniwa notions of self and other-identity. It has important bearings on the messianic movements and on the transformative rhetoric which goes with them, which will be discussed later in this section and in other parts of this thesis.

Partly as a result of the declining demand for rubber, but mostly as a result of restrictions on the forced removal of people from Brazil by the rubber entrepreneurs, Baniwa have been less involved in rubber-gathering since the 1960's. Today, only a dozen or so individuals from the Aiary work in Colombia, and those on a voluntary basis. If one is in need of cash, however, rubber-gathering is still a sure source of income; and the Colombian towns hold some attraction because of the merchandise available in the stores there.

Brazilian merchants (regatões) used to come to the Aiary in search of such things as chicle, tree resins and vines. Baniwa were contracted as laborers by these merchants and paid in goods. By 1976-7, however, these merchants were visiting the Baniwa only rarely in search of forest-products. People explained that the forests became so depleted that "it was too much suffering" to work long days and to journey long distances to obtain such meagre results. The Brazilian merchants, then, came less frequently in their motor launches, when the river was high, to trade for bushels of farinha, chickens and manioc-scrapers. In 1976-7, the extraction of forest-products for these merchants was less lucrative than making baskets and pottery for the Colombians, for the Catholic missions or the indigenous cooperative run by FUNAI

(National Indian Agency) at Jauareté, or for the Protestant missions at Jandú on the Içana River and Yutica on the upper Vaupés. The Baniwa also made occasional long-distance canoe trips to the municipal capitol at São Gabriel to sell farinha, artwork, chickens and manioc-scrapers.

Baniwa are excellent weavers of baskets of all shapes and sizes, perhaps the best weavers in the entire Vaupés and Içana region. Their finely-painted and designed baskets, mostly made by young men, have not gone unnoticed by merchants as an object for trade in outside markets. In 1976, two or three Colombianos at a time would come by way of the trails connecting the upper Vaupés with the upper Aiary, carrying trunks of merchandise to trade for baskets. Once on the Aiary, they contracted several canoes from the people of the first village and proceeded on a journey of about a month, trading in nearly every village on the Aiary and Içana. Often they would leave goods on credit; and the Colombianos kept notebooks of debts and payments. At the end of the trip, they would hire Wanano or Baniwa men to carry the baskets back to Colombia for export, they claimed, to Europe. In one journey, the Colombianos would gather in this way some two or three hundred dozen baskets or more. The highest number I recorded was 450 dozen in one trip, filling two half-ton canoes which had to be specially contructed with riggings for the overflowing load.

In most villages where they stopped, the merchants left "collection notes" for baskets which they claimed people owed them, to be delivered the next time they came. Sometimes, I was told, these collection notes were merely old and paid-off debts rewritten on new paper and given out by different merchants. The baskets, which took two days of work apiece to manufacture, were bought for the equivalent of fifty to sixty cents apiece regardless of size or quality. The merchants justified the low purchase price by saying that the merchandise they gave in exchange was less expensive than in the cities; but in truth they took much more than they gave. They collected baskets like hungry wolves and badgered people about their debts without mercy. They stole things from peoples' houses, sold them cachaça, or rotgut rum. But people were ambivalent toward them, rather than openly hostile, because the merchants also brought things which people needed. The Baniwa received them like old friends, even though they knew that they were being exploited. People would stare in shock at the canoes filled with baskets and say, "they're robbing us." Nevertheless, in March of 1977, production so exceeded demand that the price of baskets dropped to ten cents apiece and the Colombianos came less frequently until the market had cleared.

D. Social and Political Organization.

This section has two purposes. The first is to describe and discuss units of Baniwa social structure and the central institutions important for their maintenance. Baniwa society has already been described as segmentary (Galvão and Oliveira, 1971) with several levels of social inclusion. On the following page, I have set out in diagram form the principal units which I suggest characterize these levels, each being defined according to principal features. The diagram follows the leads provided in the useful discussions of social units among Tukanoan-speaking peoples, by J. Jackson (1977) and C. Hugh-Jones (1977), though comparison with these works will show obvious differences with Baniwa social units. My discussion of these units will focus on the following: the importance of names of groups; territories or places; the internal organization and principal functions of the units; and the role which ideology (stated in myths or oral traditions) has in explaining or providing "ways of seeing" the organization of social groups.

The second part of this section focusses on a historical sketch of a village community, Hipana (pro. Hée-pana) from the time of its founding as a single multi-family maloca in the early 1900's to the present-day when it consists in some fourteen single-family houses. The point of this historical sketch is to discuss the processes of fission and fusion in group formation, and to outline the factors which have shaped them. The most important point, however, is that the place itself (wa-dzákale, "our village") has a central role in long-term processes of group formation.

D.1 Outline of Social Groups

The Phratry: Hohodene and Maulieni on the Aiary River are two sibs in a phratry composed of about five sibs, who do not intermarry, and who are ranked according to a model of birth order among a group of primal ancestral siblings (the myth which recounts the creation of the ancestors is in Part V., M.3.0). The group is composed of the following order: (1) Maulieni (or Kaua in lingua geral), the eldest of the siblings, now living on the Uira-uassú tributary of the Aiary; (2) Molé-dakénai, once living off the Uaraná but were massacred in the nineteenth Century and are no longer to be found in that area; (3) Hohodene of the Aiary and Içana; (4) Adzanene (or Tatú in lingua geral), today living on the upper Rio Negro, upper Içana and tributaries; (5) an

UNITS OF BANIWA SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I.	PHRATRY 1.					2.			3, etc.
II.	Sib 1 Makūn	2 Chiefs	3	4	5	1 Makūn	2 Chiefs	3, etc.	
III.	Local Descent Group		1 2 3 4 etc.			1,2,etc.			

I. PHRATRY:	Unnamed unit composed of named sibs who do not intermarry and consider themselves kin, ranked in order of sibling relationships among them.
II. SIB:	Named groups whose membership is based on patrilinear descent and occupying a traditionally defined section of river frontage, residence being patrilocal. Sibs are composed of several/many local descent groups, ranked in order of sibling relationships among them.
III. LOCAL DESCENT GROUP:	Group of co-agnates who are one another's closest agnatic kin who may dwell in the same settlement. The group is known by the settlement name.

unnamed "younger brother" of the Adzanene.

This phratry has no specific name, known among all its members. However, the sibs may be listed and described as "one group" (apada wenia-tsa, but note: for the word wenia, I have not been able to find a good translation and "group" seems to be acceptable for the present. Missions have introduced the word "familia" which some Baniwa have taken to be equivalent to wenia, but "familia" then has come to be applied indiscriminately to phratries, sibs, and local descent groups. For its catch-all application, it is not very useful.). Often, people say "our kin" (wakitchiena) for the members of their respective phratries and distinguish them from "our other groups" (wetenaaki, or Apana, "other," "other people").

Oalipere-dakenai are one such "other group" of the Hohodene and themselves are members of a second phratry, also un-named, composed of at least two and not exceeding six sibs. In all, from my material I know of three phratries which include the majority of the twenty to twenty-five sibs which people were able to list. It is possible that remaining sibs are members of other phratries, fragments of them, or not belong to any at all.[3]

Within phratries, each sib is ordered by what frequently has been called a hierarchy, based on the model of the birth order of the ancestral siblings. There is considerable variation on the exact rank ordering among the complete sibling set. Very often, members of sibs know where one's own sib is supposed to be in the order, but vary on numbers of sibs considered senior or junior to one's own. Hohodene, for instance, always say they are the "middle ones" and they are certain on whom they follow in the order, but often vary on two or three elder sibs and two or three junior sibs.

Several of the sibs are associated with special statuses; the first-born of the order always being called "mákun" or "Yamáaku" ("Our Maaku") by other sibs who come after them in the order, do ritual tasks, such as lighting cigars, gathering firewood, and so on. Second in the order is often known as "Enawi-nai" and I have translated this as "chiefs" (though the word for chief is thalikana) as this was explained by one member of a Oalipere "chiefly" sib (in Part V., see M.3.1 for this person's explanation of Enawi-nai). The "middle ones" may at one time in the past have been associated with a ritual role of lead-dancers or chanters.

Today, however, the three roles I have mentioned (this is about all for which I am certain) have very limited meaning. First of all, dance-festivals have been greatly attenuated as a result of recent changes. Second, there are few, if any, of the roles and statuses of chiefs, as there were in the past. Finally, the Maaku more often than not emphasize their "equal" (pakoaka-tsa) status with respect to other sibs of their phratry.

Nevertheless, the ideology of this system of statuses and roles persists and probably is important for a sense of cohesiveness among groups of sibs of a phratry. It is a wider vision of society which encompasses many members, spread over a wide territory, and though some sibs have very few members at all, they are included in a group.

Part of the present-day function of the phratry is exogamy, based on the identity of sibs as all one group of kin, descended from patrilineal ancestors. Besides exogamy, phratry members share in common what might be called "rights to ritual property" (as used by Jackson and Hugh-Jones, cited above). This ritual property would include: (1) distinct sets of ancestral sacred flutes and trumpets, known generically as *Kuai* (or, in *lingua geral*, Jurupary). Each sib possesses its own proper *Kuai*-flute which is considered the ancestor of the sib, and each flute has its own distinct name and melody. These flutes are said to have emerged along with the first ancestors of all sibs in a phratry. (2) Distinct sets of chants about ancestral emergence, and sets of ancestral names used as personal names and bestowed on children in naming ceremonies at or after birth. (3) Ritual paraphernalia, sacred objects, and also cultivated plants (pepper and tobacco) which are considered sacred because they were given to the sib's first ancestors in the times of emergence.

Besides these, the stories of ancestral emergence state clearly that different phratries are associated with distinct emergence *places*. One key place is Hipana, where the phratry to which Hohodene belong, emerged from the holes of the rapids in the middle of the present-day falls (there was no water in the time of emergence). Not more than one hundred yards below is a smaller rapids, known as *Enú-koa* (Sky-Place) where the Oalipere phratry emerged. A third place is supposed to be located on the Içana River (Nimuendajú, 1950: 127).

These myths of emergence differ completely from those told by Tukanoan people who usually recount the origin of sibs and phratries from Ancestral Anacondas. The Ancestral anacondas are supposed to have journeyed in mythical times from outside the Vaupés region (many say, the Amazon) and travelled along the main rivers and tributaries, stopping at various sites along the way when important events occured and where the sib ancestors were deposited to settle and populate the earth. Baniwa do not speak of Ancestral Anacondas, for their origins are what might be called autochthonous.[4]

One view, or "way of seeing," the process of ancestral birth is described by the Hohodene and it differs in certain respects from the way the Oalipere view the matter. Hohodene describe the process as one of "arising" wherein each of the first ancestors comes up and out of the holes of the earth, which connect the World-center at Hipana, with the World-below the earth. The World-below is where "people who have never been born" reside in several layers. When each sib ancestor arose, Yaperikuli (the Maker and Transformer in Baniwa religion) and the Primal Sun "looked for" them and each came out circling around the rim of the hole which connects with the World-below, repeating over and over its ancestral name as it arose. Speech, then, is one primal defining feature. The ancestor was then sent to live in its traditional place on land. These ancestors were not considered fully human, with human bodies like those their descendants have today. They are described as Kuai-ancestors, with bodies like animals. Yet the myth of emergence states they were forebears of human social groups; they were born in a model of human birth order. Hohodene sometimes follow this story of emergence of their phratry with another story which tells how their own particular sib ancestors were born "afterwards." These sib ancestors were more nearly human; they had human bodies, were sexually differentiated (a first mother and a first father, who were sister and brother), and there is at least one story of their deeds. They were still in the "heroic" times of the First Maker, Yaperikuli, and many of the deeds are quite similar in certain respects. But with these stories, Hohodene thought clearly sees that they had become human, and their society already had the rules of marriage, alliance, and so forth which their descendants observe today.

Another view of the process of ancestral birth is expressed by the Oalipere. Their first ancestors came from "the Sky-place" which is below the main rapids at Hipana. The "Sky-place" has other names, such as "umbilicus of the Sky" and the belief is that there is a connection with the world above the earth (in contrast with the Hohodene). Further, Oalipere means Pleiades (constellation) and they are believed to be the descendants of the Pleiades. The rising of the Pleiades is in some sense the model for the arising of "Pleiades-grandchildren."

Oalipere and Hohodene recognize other sets of differences between them: there were different deities who raised them. Oalipere were raised by the spiritual Owner of Tobacco, Dzuliûeri, while Yaperikuli only sat, watched and commented when the Oalipere arose. In general, all emergence stories figure Yaperikuli as a participant if not an active procurer in the arising. The other figures, the Primal Sun and the spiritual Owner of Tobacco, are all related to Yaperikuli. In fact, they are often equated with Yaperikuli. The Primal Sun is stated to be "the same" as Yaperikuli and seems to be another, different manifestation. Yaperikuli is often said to be "three-persons-in-one" (Yaperikuli, Dzūliûeri, and Kuaikaniri; the third person varies for different people), who in myths can at times be a collective actor (referred to as "they") or single, acting in individual roles (such as shaman, dancer, warrior, etc.).

The most common statement Baniwa make is that there is "only one Yaperikuli" who has different parts (like three joined parts of a finger). I think the sense is that since Yaperikuli is the very first being, different attributes are associated with the same unity. After Yaperikuli, and in the time of the ancestors of humans, these attributes, social groups become differentiated into separate roles, statuses, and so on. Hence the association of sibs with different roles.

The sibs: I have considered whether patri-sib or patri-clan would be a more accurate label for each of the units composing a phratry and have come to the conclusion that *sibs* better represents the reality. Other writers who have described Baniwa social structure have used either or both terms. Galvão refers to sibs as "unilateral and exogamous groups of kin" (1959: 38) while Oliveira uses clans as exogamous groups united by patrilineal descent (1975: 4). Two points may be mentioned against the use of clans (based on Murdock's discussion, 1949: 47 and Chapter IV): at no time do the groups today unite for common group functions nor do they exhibit the organizational features characteristic of clans; not all members of the group can trace actual genealogical connections among individuals. Nevertheless, Hohodene and others *do* have very strong attachments/sentiments to the unity of the group by name, and oppose themselves to Oalipere on this account and others. Further, there are other uniting features of sibs: ceremonial and ritual property, life-cycle rituals and beliefs, and strong *beliefs* in an ideology of descent from first ancestors and from historical ancestors. Actual connections with historical ancestors can only be demonstrated in a few instances, but the beliefs and the convictions are most important.

Present-day sib sizes vary from very small (not more than a few representatives) to several hundred (such as Hohodene and Oalipere-dakenai). Populations have certainly fluctuated over time and very large sibs today say they were on the point of near-extinction in the past, but that they grew to their present large size through the making of alliances. Raiding and warfare (oowi) ceased long ago and this is seen as having contributed to sib growth. Feuds continue on very small scale; people recount instances of how such feuds have over time diminished population to the point of near-extinction, but my impression was that instances of such feuding were considered more a part of the past than the present. Memories of both wars and feuds persist and people could often point to locations of wars on the riverbanks near their villages, or still consider sibs as "enemies" (wapoonda) on the basis of past vendettas.

With regard to names of sibs, the individual's identification with sib name is clearly important; the first social facts which one will find out by walking into an Aiary village and asking who the people are, are the names Oalipere or Hohodene. Identity with the sib theoretically lasts throughout a lifetime. In a few instances I heard of individuals claiming a different sib name than that into which they were born, but it was disapproved by other sib members.

Disagreement about sib membership often takes the form of claiming that people are members of one named sib and not another, but genealogies to prove or disprove the claims are rarely, if ever, used. Hohodene, for instance, say that sib members of a certain village who are known generally as Maulieni, have another name "Bee-grandchildren" (*Àini-dakenai*), for the Maulieni live elsewhere or "are no more" and the "Bee-grandchildren" took on their name. When asked, the "Bee-grandchildren" say they are neither that nor Maulieni, but rather "Children of Rapids Foam" (*Hīpátanene*) and related as "younger brothers" to Maulieni who are located on the Uirauassú tributary. Name differences as finely distinguished as this are not easily resolved: "Bee-grandchildren" appears to be an alternate and infrequently used name for Maulieni (whose ancestors were also small bees), while *Hīpátanene* appears to be something else entirely. Alternately, Maulieni may have been used as a general term to apply to a whole sib while members differentiate themselves from within. Other instances of fine-tuning in names and name-differences can be given for Oalipere-dakenai also.

Very often, sibs identify themselves with continuous riverine territory. Hohodene consider themselves "owners" of the Aiary, the river frontage of which is the "place of Hohodene villages." Immediately below them, near the mouth of the Aiary, is the first settlement of their affines, Jaguar-people (*Dzãui-nai*). Oral traditions indicate that sibs not only are associated with settlements on river sections, but also with *particular* settlements (eg., Tunui Rapids is the settlement of the Kadapolithana). Even after exile, sib members sensed deprivation from their settlements and have generally returned to the same places as before exile.

With continuing processes of dispersion, migration and exile, however, the reality today is that sibs dwell in a general geographical area (though the ideology of identification with an exclusive area is retained), that sib territories often overlap and finally, in many Aiary and Içana villages, several sibs dwell together. Still, the sense of territory is strong, and even one or two of the many villages where a sib may dwell, are often cited as the "seats" of the sib.

The present internal organization of a sib is based on a rank order among small, localized groups, often with common historical ancestors, ordered according to a set of siblings, first born to last born, eldest to most junior (Galvão in 1959 called this "social gradation" within a sib). All local groups of Hohodene living on the Aiary in 1976-7 could then be arranged according to a rank order of eldest to youngest sibling groups. People stated that the eldest siblings, represented by a named elder, used to live in a definite location on the Uaraná tributary, but that in recent times, the group migrated to the municipal capitol or had died out. Thus their immediate juniors are now considered at the "head" of the family of Hohodene, and are represented by the eldest group at Hipana. Members of every other Hohodene village on the Aiary addressed the Hipana people by an "elder" sibling term, and they addressed everyone else as "younger." I obtained lists of address terms from Hohodene of four different villages and found a general concordance among them. In certain instances, however, terms were ambiguous: members of one group whom the elders at Hipana said were their "juniors" in fact addressed the elders at Hipana by a "junior" term (for reasons I cannot yet explain). In another instance, a group who considered itself to be one of the most junior of all, nevertheless stated they could call an elder group either "elder" or "younger." They had common ancestors who were true brothers.

Below, I list a nearly inclusive set of sibling groups of Hohodene, known by village names, and grouped according to informants' rank ordering and address terms from eldest to youngest. People themselves listed the order according to groups of villages: for instance, saying Hipana and three others were "of the same family" implying that they were, or considered themselves to be, descendants from common ancestors. The people of Hipana were still the "eldest" of all. We might therefore properly speak of these groups of villages as sub-sibs, because not always could people trace clearly the common ancestry among themselves:

Hohodene Sib Order:

ELDER --YOUNGER

	-Hipana			
	-Ashiali	-Santaré		
	-Pidzuaro	-Mouth of Mirití stream		
	-Camarão			
	-São Joaquim	-Kuliriana**	-Seringa Rupitá**	
YOUNGER				-Pupunha Rupitá**

** Ambiguous instances mentioned in text above.

Now, to ask on what this ordering of sibling set is based, we turn to the oral tradition I make reference to in Section IB., below. Following the third re-location of the Hohodene ancestors on the Aiary, the "grandparents" came to occupy the banks of the river and its principal tributaries. Many narrators of this oral tradition stated that there were ten siblings, who were all offspring of the marriage made between the Hohodene ancestor Keroaminali and the Oalipere woman. These ten siblings each became founders of villages on the Quiary, and the Aiary. Narrators were able to name with precision where the villages once were located, for they claimed to have seen the places. Less certainly would they care to state the names of the ten children; it was not particularly necessary that they thought to do so. The few who could had a difficult time of it and apparently filled in names, but the village place-names were always given with readiness and admirable exactness. These ancestral places were supposed to be located at the headwaters of streams all the way down to their mouths.

The ten children are considered ancestors of local groups today. A few elders presented genealogies going back to their own ancestor, in a sense to prove their links. When genealogies are presented, people emphasize links in the male sibling group and the correspondence in the seniority of these to their respective groups of descendants today. Yet genealogies which are based on names in Baniwa have limited usefulness because Hohodene names given to male and female sib members show that there is a limited stock or set of sib names which are inherited from the first ancestors. Many people have the same name; and these names may be repeated in successive generations also, so that there does not appear to be a rule for cycling of names over time. While sib names may present difficulties in reckoning genealogical time, in a few instances, surnames may be given in Portuguese and these are cumulative. People are sometimes able to remember accurately full sets which go back three or four generations. These instances are most clearly given by the leading siblings who were resident at

Hipana (which goes to show another point: the people at Hipana were the best archivists of the Hohodene and most often I was told to find out the oral tradition from them or from their immediate neighbours downriver, who also happened to be high-ranking and who also claimed to trace genealogies back to the historical ancestors mentioned in the oral tradition).

The number of ten ancestral children, however, should be seen as an ideal number representing a full complement: "two hands" of children which in many instances is like the ideal number which people say comprises a conjugal family at its maximum in the development cycle. The ideal represents the unity of the sib as all one single group, based on a conviction that all Hohodene are descended from a common historical ancestor. Migration and exile have altered the composition and localization of the group, as the oral traditions relate, yet the conviction in unity is important to affirm. Similarly, certain people, but not everyone, can tack their genealogies directly onto one of the children of the historical ancestors.

The Local Descent Groups: I consider these as groups of close agnatic kin who reside patrilocally and very often within the same village or settlement (or proximate settlements) and consider themselves descended from common ancestors (recently deceased), and are often able to show how through genealogies. The criteria of single-settlement residence is not always strict or manifest on the ground; with processes of fissioning, for instance, members of common descent group dwell on other parts of the river, but they still consider themselves close agnatic kin and strongly affiliated with the parent settlement. In a few instances, the groups share and know themselves by common surnames, but what is again most common is that the groups identify themselves with place.

Descent groups often occupy a continuous river territory, their settlements being along the riverbanks. Minimally, such territory is defined by where people make their gardens (residence, I repeat, is patrilocal). At a maximum, very large sections of the river are claimed by certain descent groups as their territory. Hipana, for instance, claims that the limits of their land ("where our earth arrives") extend from the mouth of the Uaraná, twenty to thirty kilometers above Hipana by river travel, to where Oalipere-dakenai have their first settlement, thirty or more kilometers below. There is general agreement on this by other Hohodene, not belonging to the same descent group, who have settlements within the territory, for since the founding of Hipana, they have requested from the elder chiefs to make settlements and utilize the land and resources within the territory. However, other sib members, such as the Hīpátanene referred to above, state that the territory of Hipana is in actuality their land but that Hohodene negotiated with them long ago for it and Hohodene land is, in fact, the Uaraná. Furthermore, descent group identity with exclusive river frontage is not always clear-cut and often is overlapping.

Descent groups who reside within a single village are composed primarily of a group of brothers, along with their wives and children. Strictly speaking, the groups are defined by the brothers and children born within the settlement; in-marrying spouses are still, after marriage, identified with their natal settlements (i.e., their own descent groups). Quite often, villages appear to be patrilocal extended families composed of the aged parents of an elder group of brothers and the families of each, along with other residents (often temporary) such as affines and their families. Even smaller on the scale, settlements may be composed of a single conjugal family, residing in a single-family house. These single families, however, may be closely affiliated with a related descent group living nearby. Larger villages are composed of several generations: a senior generation, composed of a group of agnatic siblings or patrilateral parallel cousins with their families; the adult elder generation of agnatic siblings or patrilateral parallel cousins (sons of two or more of the senior group); and other residents, affines with their families. To give an idea of the range of descent group size and the composition of closely related Hohodene settlements, I list several examples below. These were Hohodene villages where I resided for a length of time, Hipana being my "home village."

Composition of Hohodene Villages**

Name	Descent Group Members	Descent Group Members' Wives	Others	Total
Hipana	39	6	13	58
Camarão	22	3	2	27 (+16, unsure)
Pidzuaro	17	3	1	21
Kuliriana	19	3	9	30
Mouth of Uaraná*	4	1		5
Seringa Rupitá	57	12	9	78
Santaré	16	5	1	22
Mouth of Miriti	15	3	?	18

* Affiliated with Seringa Rupita. ** Grouped according to Descent Groups.

The group at Seringa is clearly one of the most cohesive of all, as well as being the single largest; yet members consider themselves the most junior in terms of rank. Hipana, the eldest group, numerically smaller, is yet in the process of expanding its membership, incorporating new members from other nearby settlements and ever strengthening in numbers, in no small part due to the ambitions of the chief. Partly too, this chief has effectively pulled weight through missionary backing of economic projects, while the chief of Seringa has been reluctant or not found it a useful thing to do.

Of the three levels in social structure I have discussed, the group residing in the village community is clearly the level at which ongoing social, economic, and political functions are most visible. It would not be totally accurate, however, to isolate single villages from their neighbors. There are quite often on the Aiary, groups of two or three neighboring villages who are closely bound together either by membership in common descent groups or by longstanding relationships of friendship, common participation in rituals, or simply frequent visiting for socializing or trade. These neighboring groups may be of the same or affinal sibs. The Aiary people also are good neighbors to Wanana villages of the upper Vaupés, frequently visiting by way of the trails which connect the two rivers. Neighboring villages utilize their ties in different ways such that generalizations are difficult to make, but for instance, Hohodene and Oalipere near one another regularly hold initiation rites together and say that they have done so for a number of years, while for trade and socializing, they often visited with their Wanana affines. Neighborhoods have been affected by religious changes, too, such that evangelists of different sibs do more visiting and have greater interaction amongst themselves than they do with non-evangelist neighbors.

In terms of the ongoing political organization of the villages, the group of village elders act as a daily and informal council which decides on matters of importance, such as the organizing of communal work activities and the planning and execution of community projects. In most villages, the eldest among the adult generation of brothers has the tasks of an informal leader; if the eldest does not wish to take on the responsibilities, one among the next younger brothers may do so. One of the critical times is in village re-location and the council of elders, in fact all adults, are involved in the numerous decisions which are required before the move can be made. The re-location can take up to a year or more of step-by-step activities, beginning with the cutting and felling of brush on the new land (negotiating with other descent groups for the land if it falls within someone else's territory); planting a bumper crop around the site of the village, and so on. It is a rough transition, taking months of living on the hammock before things are settled.

The conjugal family, parents and unmarried children, can be considered distinct residential, social and economic units within villages. The aged of a village may have their own separate homes, or, if only one is living, they may reside in the household of an elder son, or son-in-law. They have a special status and are persons to be respected, for often they are of the original founding family of the settlement. They do not fall out of things nor become socially invisible unless suffering from sickness. They work with their children, maintain obligations of reciprocity towards them and expect to be treated well. Ageing is very much a matter of pride and integrity for Baniwa; if one has many sons, daughters, and grandchildren, this is ideal. Besides, adults in the villages rely on the aged for ritual knowledge and turn to them for explanation of traditions.

Marriage is monogamous, though in the past polygyny may have been a practice (I recorded one instance). Bonds between husbands and wives are, for the most part, stable through a lifetime, but in instances of infidelity or continuous bad treatment by either spouse, people say they delay very little in leaving their partners for good. Children in such cases stay with either parent.

Brother and sister bonds are not necessarily broken by marriage; visiting among them is frequent, messages are sent with regularity, and if brothers hear or see that their sisters are not being treated well by men of an affinal village, they are quick to respond with protection or warnings they will retaliate.

Baniwa express a preference for marrying patrilateral cross-cousins of other villages with long-standing relationships to one's own. Usually, there are several; the Hohodene villages of the upper Aiary each had its sets of preferred villages where marriage-partners were likely to be sought. These villages of Wanana, Cubeo or Oalipere were distant from the upper Aiary by a day to several days' travel.

Marriages are frequently sister-exchanges; in taking a wife from one village, a man is expected to return a younger sister in exchange (Rokoama). If one can not do so immediately, then one makes a promise for future exchange, perhaps a daughter from one's own marriage. Failure to exchange can cause considerable bad feeling among families and serious breach in their relations.

Two of the principal and ongoing concerns of conjugal families revolve around subsistence tasks and the raising and care of children, until they reach a marriageable age. I have discussed the organization of subsistence activities above. I wish to add here that with respect to garden-making, frequently before marriage, sons and daughters work in their parents' gardens and sons often have plots of their own, cultivated by mothers and sisters. After marriage, the conjugal family is considered a self-sustaining unit; garden products are for its own consumption, for daily contribution to communal meals, or for whatever extra may be set aside to trade or sell. Viability of the conjugal family is very much defined by this economic capability with respect to gardens: without someone to process manioc into bread, or someone to cut trees for a garden, a family would "suffer" a great deal, and be forced to look for support of other kin. (In Part V., see the "Beginning of Gardens," M.5.0, for another perspective on the viability of families.)

With respect to child-raising, the principal ties of children (past the age of weaning and before the age of initiation) are with their natal families, parents and elder siblings. Dependent on their family for nourishment and shelter, very young children stay most often with their mothers or older siblings, gradually learning to do things under their instruction. Mothers are said to know more how to care for young children, though fathers give their affection to all young children and care for them in the absence of their wives.

About the age of five or six, girls are expected to begin working actively with their mothers, helping in the production and processing of manioc, and taking care of younger siblings. Boys at this age devote most of their time to play, with same-sex siblings, and parallel cousins. If they are not asked to help their mothers, boys stay in groups of three or four companions, playing at male pursuits: hunting with bows and arrows, stalking small animals or birds, even wielding blowguns. Their play is one of the first ways children form ties outside of the natal family household; another way is acting as messengers between households. Mothers send young sons or daughters with gifts of food to other households or with requests for items in exchange.

In the teaching of moral lessons to young children, the process is by degrees. In the immediate family, a mother may admonish, warn, or scold if the child's doings are irritating or if they refuse to obey. A father's warnings may be more severe. Grandparents may also "speak" to a child, scolding when they are being annoying. Children are presumed for the most part "not to know" or to "have correct thought" for living with others. The teaching of children is one of the most important tasks of the family, and it begins with an intensive instruction in the ways and laws of the ancestors, which they are expected to apply to social living for the rest of their lives.

D.2. Fission and Fusion in the History of Hipana (Uapui) Village

I shall now consider processes in social and political organization from the point of view of the formation and development of the "head family" of Hohodene residing in Hipana village today. The processes by which this family began the village, grew, divided to form other settlements and allied with others will be considered. Several of the factors which shape the processes of fissioning are: the search for better garden or fishing and hunting land, migrations in search of employment, feuding, and relocation after the deaths of heads of families. Fusion, or the amagalmation of new families to the village, has been shaped by: bonds created in exchange marriages, single-family units desiring to affiliate with a community rather than living permanently apart, and missionary efforts to incorporate new families in the village for the schooling of children.

I have constructed this sketch of Hipana history from the life-stories, genealogies and work-histories of the village elders, as well as from a variety of written documents, including a drawing of Hipana village done by a missionary in the 1950's (S. Muller, 1952: 110). For a slightly different perspective on the history of the village and the people important in its formation, see the life-story of an elder and one-time village chief in Part III.D.

The drawing of Hipana village on the following page was done by a Hipana elder in 1977. It represents a thoughtfully made map, "design" (Lidana) of the village and surroundings. It shows Hipana's locality as a sacred place, as well, by its enclosure within the three ellipses: the innermost border, the elder stated, marks "the center of the world," then an intermediate area, and the last, outer border, is the dividing line beyond which there are "other people" or forest.

The line of connected houses actually shows most, but not all, that there were in the village; it excludes the grade-school, house of the missionary teacher, a large unoccupied shelter between the larger rapids and the plaza,

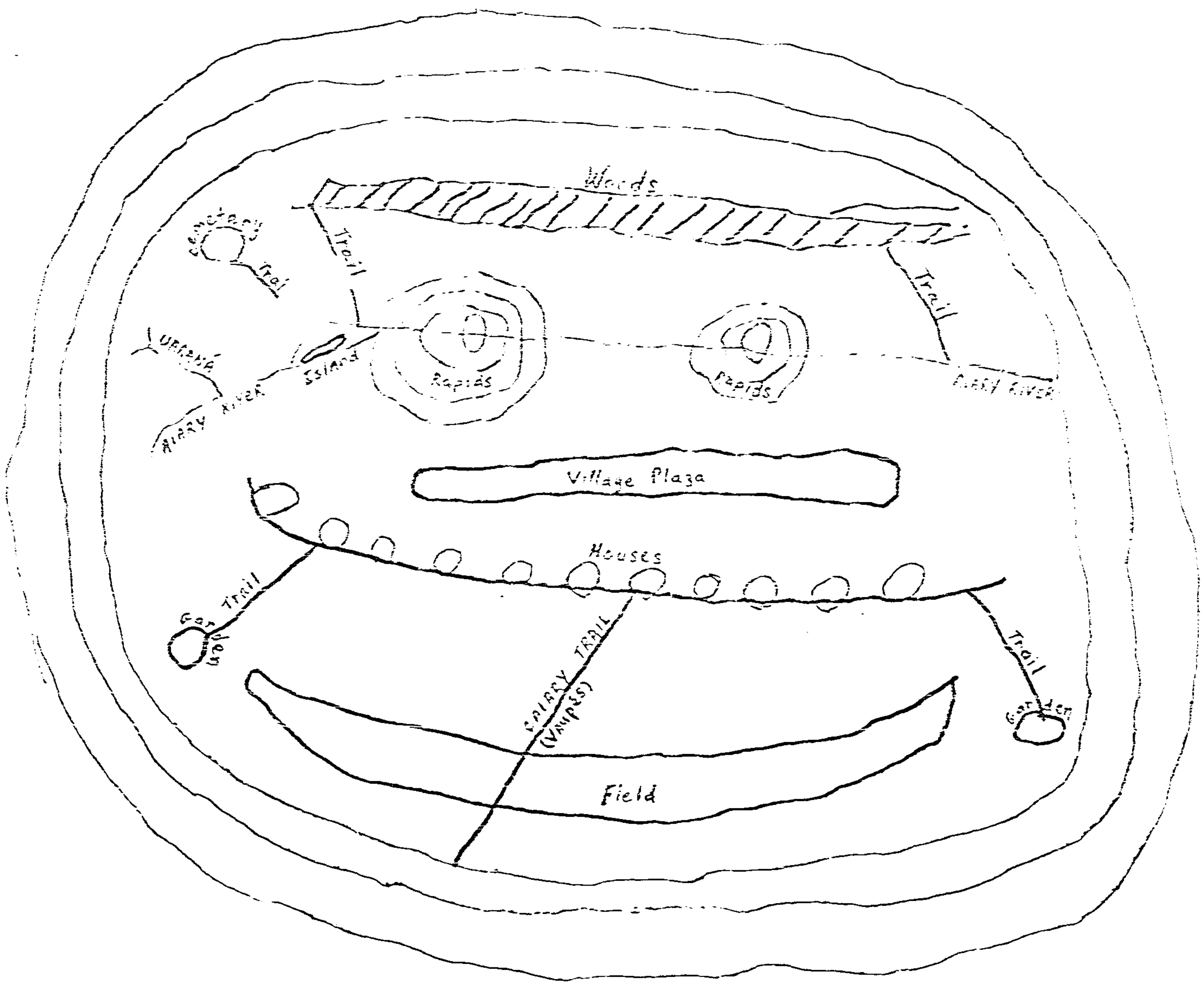

Woods
Cemetery
Trail
Trail
Trail
Uerana
Island
Aiary River
Rapids
Rapids
Aiary River
Village Plaza
Houses
Trail
Garden
Aiary Trail
(Vaupes)
Trail
Garden
Field

Figure 1: A Hipana Elder's Drawing of the Village and All the Terrain Surrounding It.

and one permanently occupied house between the plaza and smaller rapids. With the exception of the last, the drawing shows all the single-family houses. Two other houses were added after the drawing was done; one on each end of the line, and while expansion of the line was still deemed possible, the village had very nearly reached the limits of high-level ground on which houses could be made.

Since the mid 1950's, the line of houses represented in the drawing has been formed. One hundred people, or fourteen family households (population in 1977), is extraordinarily large, twice the size or more of the longhouses on the Aiary several generations ago. It has grown in stages and to show this, I begin when there was no village on the present site, when, as people recount, there was only woods, and people came to fish below the rapids, or to sharpen stone axes on the rocks of the rapids.

The founders came from Ashiali stream, a small tributary off the lower Aiary, where in the early part of the twentieth Century, there was a longhouse with some seven hearths. In search for better garden land, nearer to their house than was the case at Ashiali, one family of about five members left the maloca. This family went to live upstream with Hohodene kin in four locations, three of which were on the Uaraná tributary. Between 1915 and 1920, the family made an agreement with the chief of the Maulieni clan (who were then living near Hipana) to clear the land around the rapids for a maloca and to farm the terra firme nearby. Once the house had been erected and the gardens begun, the family invited Hohodene from the Mirití stream (on the lower Aiary, near Ashiali; the people were "younger" siblings to the Ashiali family) and the Uaraná to settle with them. At least one Mirití family did, but whether they stayed for any length of time is not clear. The descendants of this family stated that a death of their grandfather at Hipana caused the family to return to the Mirití and then to the headwaters of the Cubate River (tributary of the lower Içana).

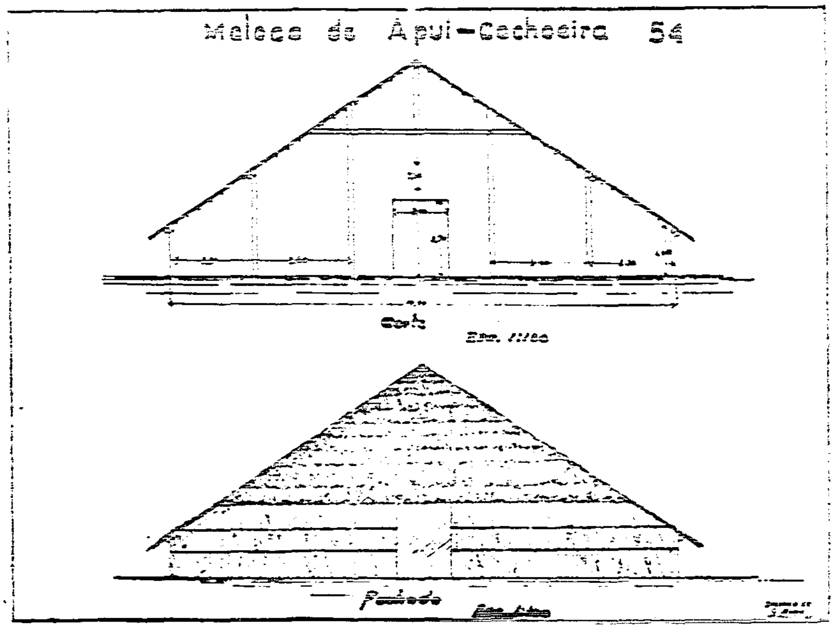
In 1927, Nimuendajú passed through Hipana on the survey of the region for the S.P.I. and noted of the maloca there:

> The maloca of the Hohodene ... was almost without dwellers. Only one family was present of the fifteen people that regularly live there. The owner of the house had left for Venezuela, via the Cuyari River. /The reason they had left was/ the fear they had of the white people in Yutica /on the upper Vaupés/, the merchant Antonio Maia. (1950: 141)

Nimuendajú was received instead by a Wanano chief of Yutica, temporarily residing with the family in Hipana.

To get an idea of the size of the maloca, figures A and B on the following page are taken from the report of the second survey, a year following Nimuendajú's visit, by the First Brazilian Commission on Limits. The commander of the expedition, Lopes de Sousa, was impressed by the size of the maloca and registered that there were in 1928, twenty-seven inhabitants dwelling in it. The ground plan of the maloca shows that there was very probably room in it for five or six family hearths (and with a maloca of this size, twenty-seven inhabitants was average and not unusually high; a high figure for a maloca was registered in 1903 by Koch-Grünberg for a Oalipere dwelling with forty inhabitants). Minimally, in 1927, the fifteen inhabitants were: the original founding family (parents and two sons with their wives, each with one child; several other sons; and possibly the parents of the founding family), along with Wanano affines. The wives of the married sons, and those of the

Figure 2:


Maloca de Apui-Cachoeira 54
Corte
Esc. 1:100
Fachada

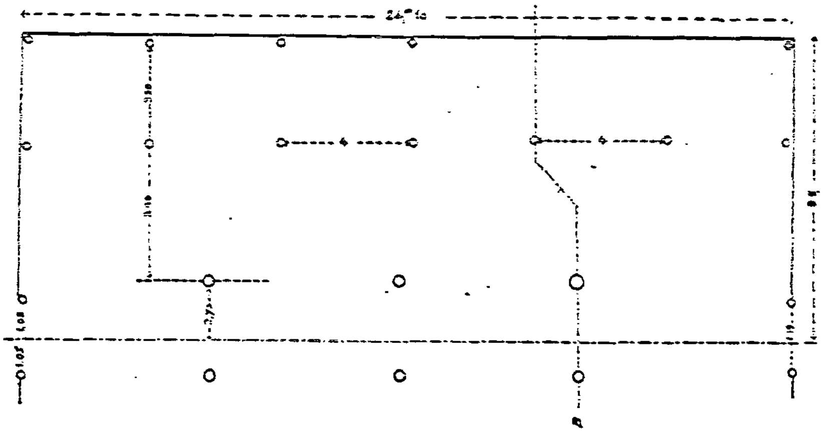
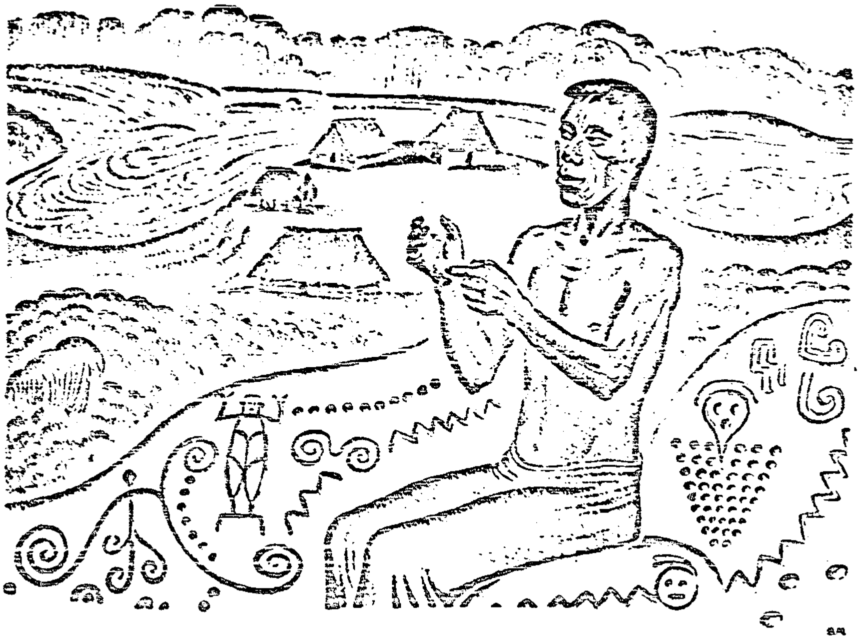


Figure 3

RIO AIARÍ
Meia planta da maloca "Apuí-Cachoeira"

Figure 4:



father and grandfather were all Wanana from villages of the upper Vaupés, near Yutica.

How did the population go from fifteen to twenty-seven in one year? Two possible reasons may be suggested and one more likely reason. From a comparison of the two survey tables (Nimuendajú, 1927; Lopes de Sousa, 1928), between 1927-28, the Hohodene maloca at Ashiali lost four of its members. They may have moved upstream to Hipana with kin (all other Hohodene malocas stayed constant in population). From the journey which the Hipana family took to Venezuela, they may also have returned with kin. But the more likely reason is an error on Nimuendajú's part. From Lopes de Sousa's population statistic in 1928, and the family records I obtained, I can account for nearly all people. Nimuendajú's figure of fifteen was a bit low, and the reason would seem to be that often informants do not include children when they tell how many people dwell in a settlement, and there were ten children in Lopes de Sousa's table.

From the time of Lopes de Sousa's survey until 1950, a number of changes in the village took place. The reason 1950 is a marked date is that it, like 1928, was remembered for the arrival of important people to Hipana village. Sofia Muller, the American evangelist, in one of her sojourns on the Aiary, preached in Hipana. People remember this event vividly and could state that when it occured, the village was composed of so many houses and inhabitants. Shortly after her visit, Salesian Padres arrived at Hipana, and from that time the village gradually assumed a new aspect.

Having a gift for art, Sofia Muller drew a picture of Hipana in 1950 (Figure 4), with an elder recounting sacred stories on the rocks of the rapids. In the picture there are three houses and one shelter. From informants' statements, this near accurately represents what they remember, with one exception of a house then being built on the opposite side of the river. Between 1930 and 1950, then, at least three houses had been built by families from the original maloca or elsewhere (mostly from the maloca). From life-stories, and bits of information I was able to obtain, I will give a partial list of how these changes occured.

Most changes probably occured within a decade before Sofia's arrival, for most involve the youngest sons and brothers of the founding family, who in 1930-40 were still youths, unmarried and living with parents. Probably the first change to occur was that the sixth brother of the ten sons (total) built a longhouse a hundred yards or so from the main maloca (this house was no longer standing in 1976 though people remembered its location). This brother and family lived there for a generation or so, until the entire family migrated to Venezuela (for reasons unclear, probably having to do with work). Apparently, two younger brothers and their families migrated with them and the three families settled on the Atabapo River. The sons of these families returned to Hipana and constructed two houses separate from the maloca, one of them being across the river from the present-day site.

About 1945, the youngest brother of the ten, constructed the large shelter (shown in Sofia's drawing), capable of housing at least two families. It was still standing in 1976, unused except as a work area. Sometime in the 1950's or early 1960's, this family moved downriver from Hipana and founded a new settlement, called Pidzuaro. The stated reason for moving was that there was an abundance of fish in the large lakes nearby and the garden land was within reasonable distance away. Today, Pidzuaro is inhabited mainly by two families, brothers and their wives, in a single maloca and small house nearby.

In the early to mid-50's, Salesian Padres and Sisters arrived in the village and urged the people to construct new single-family houses. The present-day capitão (chief) of Hipana village (the eldest son of the second eldest in the founding family) recounted to me that he and a younger brother then began to clear the land of the present-day village site, which was, until then, old garden land. Their clearing was slow, for both people were then still working rubber in Venezuela and Colombia. Both had taken two Oalipere sisters as wives and soon after, their youngest brother married a third sister and built a new single-family house, making three new houses on the present line. A "brother" of theirs (that is, a parallel cousin, FyBS, the son of the sixth brother in the founding family) married a fourth Oalipere sister (all are from the same family) but lived separately in a house between the present-day plaza and the smaller rapids. This "brother," Emilio, and an elder brother lived separately from the line of houses being formed.

The Oalipere sisters, then, stayed within the same village after their marriages. Their brother and parents lived in a village several turns of the river below Hipana. At the death of the ageing father in this family, he urged his son and his wife to move away from their home. At the same time, their affines at Hipana offered to help them make a house at Hipana. After a brief sojourn in Venezuela, the Oalipere family returned and built the fifth single-family house, again following the present-day line.

While several attempts were made to persuade Emilio and his elder brother to join the line, they remained separate. Emilio's relations with the three brothers always was and is a complex one and can only be described as an ongoing feud. In 1976-7, there was an ever-present distrust between the families on the main line of houses and Emilio's family, and despite several attempts to bury the hatchet, none of them ever worked. Part of the basis of the feud stems from part grievances, presumed or real. The list of these grievances is quite lengthy; but how the feud started I never quite understood. People stated that "they have always been enemies" and they always stayed within a semi-comfortable but watchful distance from each other.

This situation was aggravated by events in the late '60's and early 70's. The ageing chief of Hipana, Keroami, decided to leave the position of chief to someone younger and stronger. As it is done, a meeting of the family of the Hohodene brothers in the village was held. Emilio, being in fact the eldest of all "brothers" in the village who was willing to assume responsibilities, became the chief. As people remember, Emilio was not good, for "he didn't work," did not keep the villagers together, would only request that they work for him, and was often absent from the village. Dissatisfied with the performance, the villagers, urged by the Salesians, held a second meeting and agreed to appoint the next eldest "brother" who is the present-day chief. Hurt by the loss, Emilio has borne a grudge against the main villagers ever since, and though he has an abiding alliance with the Oalipere affines in the village, the political balance of power remains with the three brothers who began the village. It is worth noting, in this regard, that the drawing of the line of houses at Hipana (page 50 above) was done by one of the three brothers, and the one occupied house near the lower rapids, the one not represented in the drawing, is that of Emilio. It is as though Emilio's family remains separate from the village.

A final change occured in 1973 and is worth discussing. The Salesian missionaries began a grade-school and more important than this, they urged three Hohodene families and one Oalipere family living at Kuliriana on the Uaraná stream ("younger" siblings to Hipana) to re-locate, to make new houses at Hipana, so that their children could receive education throughout the school year. Four families (thirty people in all) complied and by 1976, all had finished constructing new houses, expanding the line of houses in an upriver direction to where the high-level ground stops. This amalgamation of the people of Kuliriana with Hipana is not, however, a stable one in the sense of a permanent relocation. Most of the Kuliriana people continue making gardens around their land at Kuliriana, and in the months when school is out, they return _en masse_ upstream. With the exception of one Hohodene family, the rest see the moving as only temporary, for they say they prefer the more quiet, less "confusing" life of Kuliriana where there are fewer people and fewer missionaries to pester them.

Not all of the people of Hipana are content with the amalgamation. A definite impression I received from Emilio and his elder brother was that they saw Hipana village as split between "the people of Uaraná" and "us" and that the latter would, outside of a passing relationship, not be caught seen on the side of the village where the people of

Uaraná lived. Beyond these few disgruntled people, however, the relations between the Uaraná people and the three brothers and their families were amicable.

In conclusion, Hipana for the last generation has been on the balance growing in population. The growth of the village, as people said, was at first very slow, but with the continued clearing of the land around the village, and the making of new houses, growth has been progressively more and more. They have persuaded people from other settlements to join them, and at least some of the temporary residents to stay. Also, serious sicknesses and epidemics have not, in recent times, threatened the population considerably, and there are several shamans residing in the village today.

On the other hand, splitting of families has occurred: one village of the lower Aiary was formed from the original founding family at Hipana. Several families have moved permanently to Venezuela; and although occasional visiting by Hipana villagers continues with their Venezuelan kin, the distance of three weeks' journey is too great to do more than once a year.

E. Religious Life

This ethnographic sketch of religious life will serve two purposes. First, I describe the organization and functions of the principal religious and ritual specialists in Baniwa communities, the shamans and the elders. The aim is to survey their functions, to give qualitative dimension to peoples' ongoing beliefs in the efficacy of their practice and roles, and to provide a basis for understanding why or how these specialists have been important in history. The religious life has been changed by elements of Christian religion; some areas, such as the traditional dance-festivals, are done with less frequency than in the past. Today, only a few communities far from missions hold them, or communities who are explicitly moving towards a revival of them. My information on these festivals is weak; yet I provide partial descriptions of what I was able to find, and refer the reader to other sources for more information on what they may have been like.

The second purpose of my discussion will be to examine, briefly, the present-day roles of Christian missions on the Aiary, Salesian Catholics and New Tribes Mission (NTM) Protestant evangelists (or crentes). I shall discuss: (1) the ways each mission has modified, influenced, or suppressed aspects of Baniwa religion; (2) mission-introduced institutions which today are important in the organizations of Catholic and crente villages; (3) the rhetoric, often spoken and heard, in Protestant and Catholic villages which supports social and political divisions between the two kinds of religion.

E.1 Religious Specialists

(a) The Shamans (Maliri) Much has been written about shamans among Tukanoan-speaking peoples on the Vaupés (especially: Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1975; Goldman, 1963; and Hugh-Jones, 1973) and Baniwa shamans share many of the features which these authors describe. Also, they have a great deal in common with Wanhiwa (Guahibo) shamans of the Vichada and Guaviare Rivers in Venezuela (for which, see R. and N. Morey, 1975).

A great deal of the power shamans have is based on an extensive knowledge and understanding of mythology and cosmology, as well as on a detailed and comprehensive knowledge of the multiple sources of sickness and their cures.

Through the mediatory role which the shamans have between the sick of this world and the spirits and "gods" of the Baniwa pantheon, the shaman cures, advises, and guides people and thus performs one of the most vital services to the ongoing health and well-being of the community.

Shamans are ranked by their peers and by others of the community on the extent of their knowledge, on the efficacy of their cures, and on the truthfulness of the advice they give. This ranking is correlated with a proven ability of a shaman to gain access to the several levels of the cosmos, each level being associated with higher and more important spirit-people and deities. Shamans with "a little" or "half-"knowledge have access to the lower levels or planes of the cosmos, and are called on to perform limited kinds of cures. Frequently, they are shamans who in their training studied for a few years of the usual six to eight and, for some reason, decided not to continue. Or, they are shamans who were once of a higher level but "lost" their powers with age or through a fall of some kind.

Shamans who have completed the course of training have experienced higher levels in the cosmos, notably where the "owner of sickness," Kuai, and the "owner of shaman's snuff and tobacco," Dzuliûeri, live. These shamans are called "true shamans" and they are capable of curing all of the more serious ailments, and have powers of "thought" to do a variety of other tasks, through performance and song. These tasks include the following: weather control, seasonal passage, obtaining food resources (for instance, making forest-fruits grow, opening "houses of souls" of game animals for the hunt), and tasks related to human welfare (for instance, taking defensive or aggressive action against personal enemies; protecting people from the realization of bad omens; and during eclipses of the sun, which are events of bad omen, sickness and death, true shamans protect people by causing the return of the sun). True shamans claim to have knowledge and powers related to eschatological concerns: acting as soul guides in the passage of dying persons' souls to the clan-houses of souls. And if, as has happened, some individual claims that this world "is about to come to an end," true shamans can determine (through song and performance) the validity of this assertion (see Part III.C.3 for further discussion of this). Finally, they have the powers to communicate with ancestral people and the spirits of the deceased.

True shamans are believed to have the ability to transform themselves into a variety of powerful animals, notably the jaguar, and to assume their characteristics (this transformation is sometimes described as putting on a cloak, or shirt, e.g., the "jaguar-shirt," dzaui-maka). Also, they may transform into the spirits and gods themselves. In their training, true shamans obtain features, characteristics of their bodily selves, very much like those of the "owner of sickness," Kuai. At the conclusion of their training, true shamans are said to be able to attain the highest level in the cosmos, and then they become "like Yaperikuli," the Maker. "In their thought," true shamans then "make everything in the world:" all natural elements, all people in the world.

For lack of a better term, I call the highest level of shamans, "high-shamans." Sometimes people referred to them as "snuff-jaguars;" that is, shamans who are permanently "not of this world" but are, like jaguars, always roaming on the edge or border, between this world and the world of the deities. The high-shamans are said to "know everything" there is to know about the cosmos and mythology and beyond this, are said to have truly prophetic abilities. The latter distinguishes them from their "true-shaman" companions. Very few shamans attain the level of excellence to be "high" shamans; those who do often begin their learning and instruction from the time they are children of five or six and are judged by their elders to have qualities (or experiences of sickness) which predispose them to begin learning at an early age. Quite often, high-shamans select one among their own sons for special instruction. Much of their lifetimes, then, is devoted to a fairly continuous instruction in the arts and practice. By the time they have reached the age-group of elders, their knowledge surpasses those of their companions who began instruction later (in their youth or early adulthood), even though in the same company. It has happened also that certain "true" shamans have gained extra-ordinary powers by surviving near-fatal illnesses and then becoming high-shamans.

The few high-shamans attain the highest level in the cosmos, the house of Yaperikuli, and can continuously do so, even in sleeping states, and are able to obtain remedies from Yaperikuli. Their powers of prescience are formidable: they are said to know events which occur in other villages outside of the normal means by which these events are usually communicated; and they know of events which will happen in the future. For instance, one high-shaman in the late 1960's foretold of an event of "the coming of the white people" to the Aiary River. In 1977, when the airstrip at Hipana was being made, everyone took this and the consequences of it to be a realization of the prophecy. They know of the intentions of people who come to visit in the area, without or before these intentions are known publicly to other people. The powers of true-shamans in defensive or aggressive action against enemies are considerably widened among high-shamans to include the ability to influence the course of events at a long distance (several rivers away). They may send their souls on long-distance journeys to do various tasks. Their powers of advising their kin, or other people, extend to everything which may pose threats to health and well-being. Thus, a shaman of several years back (the same who predicted the "coming of the whites") who nightly visited and communicated with Yaperikuli, could advise kin that "there would be no more sicknesses" in a time when sicknesses were apparently a cause for concern. People told me that this shaman was very much "like Yaperikuli, our salvation."

A few words are appropriate here on the influence of Christian dogma on shamans' practice and belief. Christian missionaries, particularly Catholics, have taught for a considerable length of time among Baniwa and expectably, shamans have incorporated several of their notions into statements about their practice. In most instances when shamans explained their practice to me, they used Catholic imagery to make comparisons with Baniwa deities and their powers of contact with them. Or, they pointed to various Catholic icons (statues, crosses) by way of comparison between their concepts and visible items which were familiar to outsiders, and acceptable to Catholic missionaries. But they made it clear that they were comparing by saying that their notions and Catholic dogma are two ways of knowing or understanding. Yaperikuli, shamans say, is "how we know" what Catholics and white people "know as Jesu Cristu." Yaperikuli has a house as Cristu has a chapel; and a pet Harpy Eagle as Cristu has the "Espiritu Santo;"

and a tribe of people as Cristu has the disciples. Also, shamans act in the ongoing role of lead-interpreters between mission-teachings and the people. Thus, on the Catholic feast-days when missions frequently arrive on the upper Aiary and show films of Christ's life, these are times when shamans and elders alike sit as a group in the audience and make knowing linkages between what they see on the films and the mythology of Yaperikuli. The really influential shamans of the past generation, it seems, were adept at this very kind of interpretation, such that, in a time of rapid influx of Christian ideas, they could not only make meaningful statements of the intersecting points between Christian dogma and their belief, but also could utilize this dogma to their own advantage (see Part II.E below for more on this).

The curing of sickness, then, is the most important concern of all shamans. They "explain" how all serious sicknesses began by narrating the myth of Kuai and this will form one part of the interpretation of this myth in Part III of this thesis. Beyond this explanation, shamans classify the major kinds of sicknesses in three major groups, according to their sources. (1) "Sicknesses of people:" All the most serious ailments, including all those which result in death, are said to be given by "bad people" whose only thought is to kill. (If one could find a category of "sorcerers," this would describe these people who give others sickness.) One procedure which they use is a lengthy recitation of spells, along with blowing of tobacco smoke, preferably near the victim or where he or she is likely to pass. The effect of this fatal-blowing is a lethal cloud which envelopes the intended victim. A second, more effective, way of giving sickness is through the several kinds of poisonous substances mixed in the intended victim's food or drink. All such substances are known by the term *Manhene* (or *marecaimbara*, in lingua geral). Either way of giving sickness has immediate effects and requires prolonged treatment by the best of shamans. Most deaths are believed to be the result of these sicknesses. (2) "Sicknesses of the forest:" There is a class of forest-spirits called *Yupi-nai* and a variety of spirits in the rivers which give people sickness by entering their bodies. The sicknesses they give are most often manifest by flesh wounds or open sores. The *Yupi-nai*, it is said, began their existence in the world in the mythical times; they were "born from the ashes of Kuai" when Kuai was burned (see Part III). (3) "Sicknesses of other shamans:" This includes a variety of named sicknesses, many having the same symptoms (rheumatism, bone aches, and the like) and most of which require treatment. These sicknesses are characterized by objects (wood and rocks especially) which "other shamans" send onto their victims to give them sickness. These objects are believed to be obtained directly from their spirit-owners, and Kuai.

These are the principal stated sources of sickness. Beyond them, shamans recognize other ways to "get" sickness. For instance, a failure to observe food restrictions or rules of seclusion during initiation, will have immediate and deleterious effects, specifically a sickness called *purấkali*, wasting-away sickness.[5]

The shaman's main diagnostic and curing procedures involve a snuff-induced state, often with trance, the purpose of which is to contact the spirits and deities in the cosmos. A shaman's performance involves dance, with rattles as the principal instrument, chants, and especially the reading and interpretation of signs (shapes and forms) made by clouds in the sky. The deities who dwell in the heavens inform, advise, and assist the shaman regarding the source, character, and treatment of sickness.

The shaman's repertoire of therapeutic techniques includes the following:

(1) Blowing (liyápa). Several techniques are involved: (a) blowing tobacco smoke over the patient's crown, joined hands and joined feet, creating an invisible covering of smoke over the patient's body. It is said to "join the soul" of the patient to its central location, the heart. (b) blowing powerful bursts of breath through the clenched fist over the patient's body, where the sickness is judged to be located. This is done to loosen the source of sickness and to implement extraction. (c) After reciting spells or chanting, tobacco smoke may be blown over the sick part or over materia medica as a prophylactic measure.

(2) Massage and sucking-out (lipútsua), to remove pathogenic agents (usually taking the form of hair, wood slivers, rocks, spines and thorns). This is accompanied with rattle-waving over the point of extraction on the patient's body. The rattle is attached with feathers and its globular body is painted or incised with designs and figures representing Kuai and Dzuliûeri. The rattle is the most important tool of the shaman's; it is said to represent the shaman's soul and is "the companion of snuff." With it, the shaman extracts sickness objects from the heavens and later from the patient's body. Following extraction, the shaman regurgitates the visible object and casts it away.

(3) Water-throwing (liaruka). Consecrated bundles of leaves are mixed in a large pan of water. In performing the cure, the shaman drinks some of the water, scoops out a gourd of water and leaves, spits out a stream of water onto the patient, and throws the water mixed with leaves over the patient. The sources of sickness are then found in the vicinity of the fallen leaves.

(4) Counsel and Advice (likaite). In all cures of sickness, the shaman informs the patient(s) of the source of sickness, how the patient got it, whether it can be cured, and if the cure undertaken by one shaman will be

partial; what other remedies should be obtained or measures taken to ameliorate the sickness. More generally, shamans in cases of serious ailments, advise by determining how the thought of the patient stands with respect to the cure, i.e., whether the "thought" of the patient exhibits positive belief in becoming better or not.

A final point worth noting in regard to shamans' cures is that in a majority of the sixteen curing sessions I registered or witnessed in 1976-7, shamans performed their cures in groups of three or four (at least two) with one lead or "head" shaman (most often a true shaman) and the others ("true" or "half-"shamans) as respondents who followed the chants and the procedures of curing directed and guided by the lead. The number of patients varies for cures, yet in the majority of cases I registered more than one and up to six patients in any one session.

Both facts have importance in suggesting that shamans serve not just the needs of individual patients, but also their collective concerns are directed towards the health and welfare of groups of kin and non-kin, of several communities. The high-shamans of the past generation were probably considered "saviors" because their message that "there would be no more sicknesses" was heard by many people on the Aiary and Vaupés Rivers and their effective cures, advice and counsel extended to a wide network of communities.

(b) *The Elders* (*Pedalia-pe*). In general usage *pedalia-pe* refers to the group of elders of whatever age, usually married men and women, and distinguished as an age-group from the "young and beautiful ones" (*waîipali/ro*) and the age group of the children (*ienipeti-pe*). *Pedalia-pe* may also refer to the "elders of the long ago past," used interchangeably with ancestors (*waûerinai-pe*). The people of myths are also known as the elders, such as Yaperikuli, Kuai, and the oldest of all, Dzuliûeri. Myths are often called pedalia-pe iakúthi , speech or talk of the elders, but this term may be more widely applied to a variety of speech-kinds transmitted by the elders themselves: spells, dance-songs, speeches in initiation rites, and so on. The elders may be distinguished further by emphasizing age. The really old ones are known as "grandparents" (grandfather, ûeûe; grandmother, hîu, as address terms) and it is especially these elders who are respected for their ritual knowledge. Concretely, this knowledge is based on the following areas of religious or ritual practice:

(1) Spells (Iapakana or Iwápakaite). Grandparents are asked more than anyone else to "bless" (blow spells) for a wide variety of tasks and purposes: protecting against sickness, curing sickness, healing injuries and alleviating painful conditions; calling animals for the hunt, fish into traps, and calling on the owner of plantations, Kaali, to ensure the growth of gardens. Grandparents know the special chants and blessing spells for children in name-giving ceremonies; and know the special lengthy sets of spells called kalidzamai, which are chanted at the conclusion of periods of seclusion in life-cycle rituals (birth, initiation and death). These special sets of spells are considered shamanizing activity (Malikai); though one does not need to be a shaman to know them, often shamans do.

(2) Teaching myths, legends and lore of the Baniwa. The elders are judged by their peers and juniors on how much and how accurately they know these sacred traditions (similarly true for knowledge and accuracy in speaking spells). Many elders know a number of myths "in pieces," but the most respected grandparents know many myths completely, without hesitation or mixing up in the order of

narration of events. Grandparents actively teach juniors, explaining various questions they may have through myth. Often, in the early mornings or at dusk when people are gathered at meals, before and after work, one can see and hear grandparents explaining the myths. Often, also, at drinking-parties, groups of elders together tell stories in rounds. In this regard, elders, like shamans, take active roles in interpreting and explaining missionary teachings in terms of more familiar events in Baniwa mythology.

(3) In the special contexts of initiation rituals, grandparents act as tutelary figures for initiates, instructing them and protecting from any unnecessary harm. Particularly at the conclusion of these rituals, grandparents are the principal people who teach the "laws of living," that is, the rules of social living that the initiates are expected to "guard." The transmission of these laws is emphasized as a direct giving of the "speech of our ancestors" to initiates (for examples of these speeches, in Appendix A., I include texts of two elders' speeches). For male initiates, "grandfathers" act as mediators between the initiates and the principal visible representations of the ancestral "world of the beginning," the sacred flutes and trumpets Kuai.

For both male and female initiates, grandfathers whip initiates and it is with the belief that whipping will "make grow" children into adults. These whips are, like the flutes, believed to be representations of the "ancestral ways of living." In Section III.C.4, the interpretation of the myth of Kuai, I continue this discussion of initiation. There, I shall show how the myth serves as a model for initiation rituals.

(4) Another important instance when elders advise, give counsel to people occurs when dying elders unite their immediate family and instruct them on how they ought to live after their deaths. The content of this counsel may include advice such as: "to plant gardens well, to treat strangers who arrive on the Aiary well, to work hard." Sometimes, this counsel can have a prophetic tone (linoparotaka, foretell); in most instances I heard of, the prophecy was like the high-shaman referred to above, who foretold the coming of the white people.

On one occasion I witnessed in 1977 of an elder's dying, death and burial, what was striking throughout the event was its similarity to what Geertz might call a "focussed gathering." (1973) For the fifty to sixty villagers then in Hipana, the event of the elder's dying was an intense time when everyone watched a passage being made which involved the elder's soul. Through gestures, verbalizations, and explanations to the villagers united in the house where the event transpired, it was clear that the elder's soul was journeying from the world of the living to the house and worlds of the clan ancestors and the deities Yaperikuli and Kuai. At various times in the event, either the elder or members of the immediate family made contrasts between the two worlds of the living and ancestors. The passage was explicitly from a world where the elder had "suffered a great deal (there are two words Baniwa use for "suffering:" wapîrapthetan, and a borrowed Portuguese word, sofrer), had worked hard, endured pain and hunger, and still succumbed to a lethal sickness. The ancestral world, on the other hand, is a Paradise, where clan ancestors live without sickness, without having to work, in beautiful houses with abundant food and game, and where all people are shining white. The shamans (two of them, one being the elder's son) had important roles in mediating the passage between the two worlds: for instance, by warning the elder of various traps along the trail to the heavens, and by dressing the elder's corpse in beautiful white garments to show that the passage had been completed. Finally, after the burial in the cemetery, everyone in the village who participated, bathed in the pools near Hipana rapids. There, a shaman explained to everyone united by the falls that his father's soul had been reborn into the ancestral body, explaining this through the myth of the beginning of the clan ancestors.

In Part III.C.1 of this thesis, I shall consider this event further, because the event of passage in death described in the myth of Kuai bears a remarkable similarity to the passage of elders' souls at death. It is worth noting here, however, that the contrasts between the worlds of living and ancestors have considerable importance and bearing on millenial and messianic themes in history.[6]

(5) A final function which elders have is as ritual dance-leaders, mandero. In villages where traditional dance-festivals are still done, adult elders make all decisions regarding performance of festivals (scheduling, location, and preparation). They form the core of the dance-lines, play the main instruments, and perform the principal roles with regard to food-exchange and speech-making. Grandparents or old ones guide and direct the dance-lines and singing.

To give a brief idea of the purposes and kinds of dance-festivals, the following is a short sketch of the information I was able to obtain.

Poodali is the generic name for all dance-festivals, occasions when the people of one village formally invite the people of another village to come drink and dance. They are similar to what Goldman describes as "drinking parties" for the Cubeo (1963) and what most authors refer to as *dabukuri* (in *lingua geral*). These festivals in the past lasted two days, beginning in the afternoon of one day and going until the afternoon of the next (for a qualitative description of the proceedings of one festival, see Wm. Saake, "Kari, der Kulturheros, Feiert den Baniwa-Indianern das Erste Dabukuri-Fest," 1957). In the thirteen months I stayed on the Aiary River, I heard of three such festivals and participated in one, an occasion when some forty to fifty people gathered in one house, drank and danced from about 9:00 A.M. to late in the night, when most people left. The purpose of the festival was an offering of forest-fruits, which were then in abundance, from one family to their kin and affines (Cubeo of the Querary River). Presumably, at some future date, the affines would repay the gift by inviting Hohodene to their house to fest. It seems to be the case that these festivals involve principally affines, though on occasion members of the same clan may hold festivals amongst themselves. Also, *Poodali* were at one time held after marriage-making, as an affirmation of the alliance between two clans.

There are several named kinds of dance-festivals. I was told of the following:

(1) *Kuliriapan*: House of the Surubí (fish) flutes, when the surubi-flutes are played with yapurútu, long palm-wood flutes, in conjunction with exchange of food. The surubi-flutes are distinctive to the Baniwa; no other group in the region used them in their festivals. The flutes were made of a kind of paxiuba (*Mawi*) but were not prohibited to see, like the Kuai-flutes. The Baniwa were very proud of these flutes; they were beautifully made and decorated,

resembling in shape the surubi-fish.

(2) *Wanaapan*: House of ambaúba dance-tubes, when hollowed-out and decorated dancing-tubes were played with yapurútu flutes, with exchange of forest-fruits. *Wanaapan* occured often when the forest-fruit Inajá (*Wethiri* in Baniwa) ripened and thus an alternate name for the fest was *Wethiriapan*. A good description with pictures may be found in Koch-Grünberg, 1903: Ch. XI. The dance-songs in this festival were known by the collective name *Yoho*.

(3) *Heemapan*: Tapir-House, when dance rattles are the principal instruments played. In the past, the fests included the consumption of the hallucinogenic *Kaapi*; today, Baniwa rarely if ever use *Kaapi* and these dance-festivals seem to be done only on the upper Vaupés River.

(4) *Kapethe-apan* or *Kuai-apan*: House of whips or House of Kuai, when the sacred flutes and trumpets made of paxiuba are played, and there is whipping with long whips made of the same saplings as fish-poles. Forest-fruits are exchanged. Galvão (1959: 48) says that dance-masks were once used in these fests. I cannot affirm this, since I obtained very little information about these masks (*Hiwidaro-pathi*, Head cases), the last having been seen in the 1940's. Koch-Grünberg gives a detailed description of the manufacture and use of masks among the Maulieni clan. However, there was no indication that they were used at the same time Kuai flutes were played. For a description of the *Kuai-apan* festivals, see Appendix A. of this thesis.

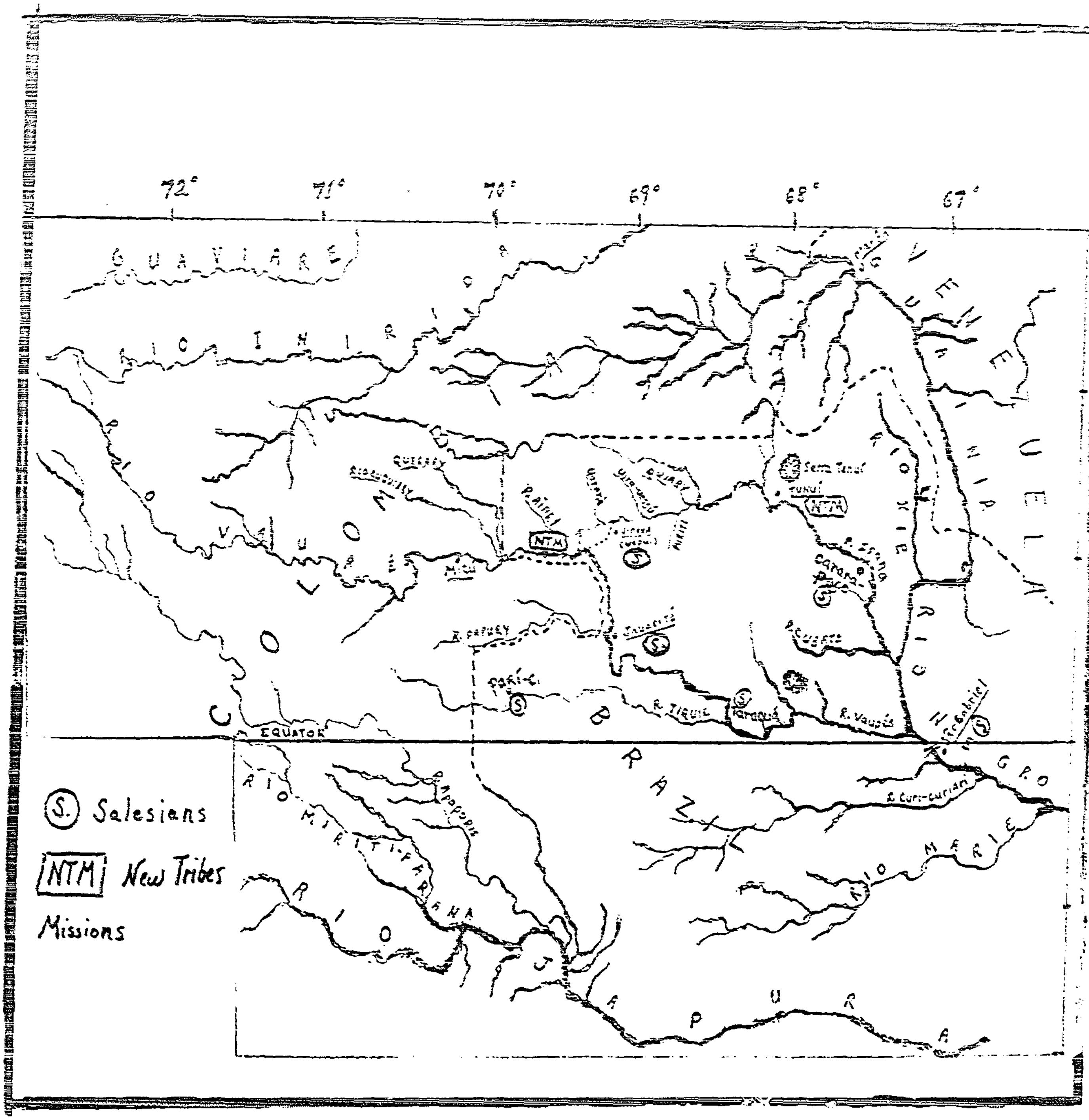
Each of these dance festivals seemed to follow a similar pattern of a named series of dance-songs and steps, when the principal instruments are played. The melodies, songs and patterns of dance-steps are distinct for each kind of festival. Interspersed with dancing are periods when people sit, drink, smoke, converse and chant together. In the single *Poodali* I participated in, the principal instruments were one *pooli* (a horn, seemingly made of baked earth; the player of it led the dance-line, blowing on the horn a single, deep, resounding note), followed by a pair of yapurútus, and a series of whistles, *mawáku* (little fish) made out of hollowed stalks of sugar cane. The festival could have been called Kawaku-apan but was more generally a poodali, with its own distinctive songs, and dance-routine.

These dance-festivals in 1976-7, people said were "stopping;" meaning they no longer hold them with the frequency they did in the past. They are recalled with nostalgia. The old ones, "our grandparents," "lived with happiness" when they held these festivals. They made many kinds of beautiful instruments, ritual ornaments, and they drank strong beer, all of which is admired by people today. People say, sadly, "we do not see these things;" their loss is lamented. Life is not as happy without them and people have "only a little" of what the old ones had.

What they have today is often mission-introduced reunions or "conferences." These provide a measure of satisfaction, but they are hardly enjoyed as much as the fests were. Partly for this reason, several villages who have been Protestant or Catholic since the 1950's are today explicitly moving towards a revival of the old festivals.

E.2 The Missions (Simply to give an idea of the locations of the missions in the region, the map on the following page shows the principal Catholic and Protestant posts.)

(a) The Catholics (Salesians) Thus far in this section, I have given several instances of the ways in which Christian missionaries have influenced or modified Baniwa religion and ritual. It is clear that the principal religious specialists have actively sought to locate meeting-grounds or use a common vocabulary for verbalizing their practices and beliefs in relation to the missionaries. On the balance, the Catholic missions have been open to such kinds of syncretizing, more so than their Protestant counterparts. On the other hand, one cannot ignore the numerous instances


72°
71°
70°
69°
68°
67°
GUAVIARE
RIO INIRIDA
RIO VAUPÉS
COLOMBIA
VENEZUELA
RIO XIE
RIO NEGRO
BRAZIL
Querary
Macú
Serra Tunuí
TUNUI
NTM
R. Içana
Carara-Poço
R. Cuiarí
R. Tiquié
Taracuá
R. Vaupés
S. Gabriel
Jauareté
Pari-C.
R. Papury
NTM
R. Curi-curiari
EQUATOR
R. Apaporis
RIO MIRITI-PARANA
RIO JAPURA
RIO MARIE
S. Salesians
NTM New Tribes Missions

Missions in the Upper Rio Negro Region, 1976-7.

which people recount of suppression or mockery of traditional religion: the sacred flutes, Kuai, missionaries label as "the devil" and the rites, "dances of the devil;" the drinking of beer (ialaki) is called "sinful" and "pagan;" and the shamans have had to put up with a disapproving attitude by missions who claim their snuff is "prohibited" (or who have bought the sacred rattles of the shamans). Not to mention the more subversive rhetoric which labels any period of ritual seclusion as contributing to "weakness," instead of what it is, a time of growth and change.

Living in Hipana village (which was made the Catholic "mission" when the Bishop had a cross erected on the village plaza in 1976) and one other Catholic village, Kuliriana, I became accustomed to the near-constant presence of missionaries, if not by visits from Padres and Irmãs, then by the resident "itinerant" missionary who was there to instruct the children. To give some idea of how Salesian missionaries expected people in Hipana and Kuliriana to follow the life of Catholicism, I will sketch briefly some of the main religious activities in these villages. Following this, I shall focus on a discussion of economic institutions in Catholic villages. The reason I choose this is that the slogan "to work for the community" was a constant theme in peoples' relations with the resident and non-resident missionaries. It was my impression that the Salesians were considered like "patrónes" of the past. The missionaries, on the other hand, urged people to follow the nationalist ideals of "development" and "progress" in working for the community. These slogans, incidentally, were partly supported by peoples' milenial hopes for a better life.

In the two Catholic villages, people held prayer-meetings (*orações*) twice daily in the chapel, reciting the rosary and singing hymns. Attendance at these was voluntary; mostly school children went, although at the evening orations, the adults often attended. At Hipana, the one-room chapel seated about thirty to forty people, and housed a table or altar in front of the chapel. But the most noticeable items in the chapel are the two statues and one large and beautiful painting of the Holy Family standing in Paradise. As the orations proceed, with the droning of the leader and the respondents, one cannot help but fix attention on the painting.

Besides the prayer-services, young catequistas (prayer-leaders trained by missionaries) conduct weekly masses (*missa*), reading from the missionary tracts and explaining the gospel in Baniwa. On all of the major Catholic holidays there was some scheduled event or "reunion" when the missionaries came to the Aiary villages or the people went to the mission-posts on the Içana. Reunions like these were attended by most, if not everyone,in the villages and surroundings, and were times when nearly everyone participated in the sacraments (received communion). In all honesty, despite my efforts to remain aloof, it was impossible to stay not-caught-up by the enthusiasm people showed at these masses and reunions. To stay apart was virtually to say one was not a member of the community; and it was impressed on me on numerous occasions that, as a baptized Catholic, I would be seen as an outsider if I did not observe my duties.

It was noticeable above all, that school children have come to assume positions of leadership in many of these events. Being instructed and trained in the values of

Brazilian society and Catholicism from the time they enter school, they are trained to march in uniforms and follow the ways of patriotism at a very early age. A few youths are selected to act as prayer-leaders and are sent to be trained in intensive courses at the municipal mission in São Gabriel. Returning to their villages, these youths show themselves to be deeply involved in Catholic doctrine, reading the New Testament daily and at all masses, and taking on the role of explaining Catholic values and politics to everyone in the village. One Hipana youth of about thirteen became so keenly involved in the role of catequista and flag-raiser, that a year after I left the field, another observer noted that he had become "radically attached" to Catholic religion, authorities and Brazilian values (Dr. B. Ribeiro, personal communication, 12/1978).

As described in Section D.2, above, Hipana village since 1973 has been a focus for Salesian efforts in education and missionizing. In 1976-7, these efforts began assuming the scope of "development" projects which were designed to transform Hipana village. To give some sense of how these transformations occured, I return to September, 1976, when I first walked into Hipana and learned of the already-initiated changes then taking place:

> Not more than half-an-hour after I and my companions struggled off the trail from the Vaupés River and went into the community house, a young missionary with a dark blue suit and a large silver cross necklace came in un-announced to where everyone sat after the meal and proceeded with cheerful smile to spoon out liquid vitamins to everyone in the room.
>
> Later that evening, as I sat with the chief and other elders, trying to make a coherent presentation of my purposes -- in effect, telling my life-story to them -- the missionary came to explain the "situation" of the people on the Aiary.

> /A few important items I recorded:/ Colombianos were still taking people by force out of the country to work. Neither FUNAI nor other outsiders came much to the Aiary because of the great distances, and people who suffered sicknesses had to be transported a distance of three days or more to the mission-posts.
>
> People in Hipana were then "learning" to plant new crops (rice, corn and beans) and they were encouraged to do more of this, but, according to the missionary, "they have to learn more, for without help they don't know how to develop or progress on their own." At this, there was a silence of all the elders in the room. (R.M.Wright, Field Notebook I, p. 2)

The missionary was Brazilian and very much oriented towards inculcating the slogan of "progress and development" in teachings and lectures to the children and in the chapel. Needless to say, the statement that "people have to be taught more for they don't know" is an insidious half-truth, for it ignores the fact that Baniwa are experts in their environment and can teach a great deal about it, if only other outsiders are willing to work a little and listen to them. Instead, this notion of "unknowing" seems to foster a sense of people's poverty and ignorance and, hence, dependence on outsiders for help.

A little more than one month later, the Salesian Bishop of Amazonas made a dramatic visit to Hipana, also struggling off from the Vaupés trail, exhausted into the community house. The following day, the Bishop announced to everyone that various changes were planned for the village: a new grade school, complete with water tanks; and a power-generator for electricity in the village, so that "people could work at night." (The first project was being realized by 1978, but the second was questionable.) The focus of the

Bishop's message was that the community must work together, so that people can "get ahead" or progress (*vae para frente*, another slogan of Brazilian national development).

It was clear throughout 1976-7, which, outside of this dramatic event and the building of the airstrip, was often as quiet as the missionary described, that the Salesians wished to transform Hipana into a small version of a missionary colony (such as at Jauareté). The only way that this goal could be achieved was by utilizing the peoples' traditional habit of "working for the community" to realize the Salesians' ideal of the "community." Typically, the Bishop only "ordered" the people to work; he did not offer to help. Through much of the year, nevertheless, the phrase "to work for the community" permeated life in the village. From the large one-room "Community House" (a Salesian innovation) where communal meals and meetings took place, to the community gardens in which people planted, tilled and harvested manioc for the missionaries, to the innumerable projects directed and organized by the chief, life was oriented to a considerable degree towards the community. I realized also that the economy of the village was based on multiple, interlocking systems of production, storage and exchange, all of which were operated in the name of the community. In these systems, the chief played a critical mediatory role as organizer, collector, distributor, and enforcer of community work standards.

The system of "working for the community" (in Baniwa, this was expressed as "with us, we give our work," *Wai-nai, wakadaali wadeihi*) was very efficient but it depended for its ongoing existence on organizational leadership and the willingness of the people to work for the ideal. One instance was the major commercial transaction between the community and the missionaries, carried out during the Catholic holidays at the mission posts. Each family in Hipana had produced artwork, basketry and ceramics and set aside bushels of farinha which the chief pooled and had transported in a large half-ton "canoe of the community" to the mission. When the exchange was made there, Hipana village came out the "wealthiest" of all those on the Içana and Aiary River who went. The chief then distributed the trade goods among the Hipana families.

Another instance was the work-projects done "for the community." Whenever, under the direction of the missions or at his own initiative, the chief decided on a project, such as cutting brush, hoeing the village plaza, making a clearing for the new school, building the school, or repairing houses, he would first announce it to the community well in advance, and then set about ensuring a food-supply for everyone who would work. Getting this food was "community work" also, as groups were sent out to gather fruit, hunt animals or fish; and the returns were then pooled and distributed among the workers. In exchange for food, people were expected to work under the chief's direction. He told them when to start, distributed the community tools, told people when to break for a smoke, and finally after long hours, when to bathe.

Hipana was an ideal community in the eyes of the missionaries because many of the villagers were workers. Yet the rhetoric and the practice of work differed in at least two ways which people saw quickly: not everyone worked equally as the Salesians expected them to do; people had different interests and motivations, and some preferred working on baskets. In the second place, it was not clearly resolved how much people should work for the community and how much they should work towards particular ends, such as tending gardens to feed their families. In part it was a matter of commitment: no matter how much work-leaders would express resentment at those who did not work, the fact was that people had other tasks and that these were often more interesting than the drudgery of hoeing the plaza or going off on a futile expedition for game.

The chief of Hipana and his wife and brothers were the most devoted of all to the ideals of the community. Hardly a day went by but the chief announced a project for us to do or undertook personally to complete one himself (compare Lévi-Strauss' account of the Nambiquara chief, 1967). The chief was a shaman; and his conception of the ideal community was partly shaped by a belief that a "beautiful place" and a better life on earth could be attained through work. At times, when we had worked long hours in a day, cleaning the plaza, the chief and others of us would stop to admire the beautiful effects created by the clean and open high ground of the village.

On numerous occasions, the chief explained that the only way for the community to grow and prosper was if everyone worked together; and he made it clear that this meant (a) harmony among the villagers (eliminating bad talk, gossip and feuding between groups), (b) moderation in such things as social drinking (strong brew caused fighting and "held back the community"), (c) a willingness to sacrifice private interests (as he, his wife and brothers did themselves) to organize and complete community projects. The people who were reluctant to work proved to be the greatest obstacle to the realization of these ideals, and on several occasions, conflict with them became bitter and erupted into fighting. The ideals became, it seemed to me, almost oppressive when people had to make up excuses for doing their own particular labors. Yet for the chief, the ideal of the "worker" was all-consuming; and it was clearly for this reason that when the white people arrived in 1977 with their barrage of equipment to begin construction of the airstrip, other people in the village looked to the chief for an explanation of what they were to do.

In conclusion, I have described the work-activities and the rhetoric which maintains them in the one mission village of Hipana. In a sense, Hipana was a critical location for Salesian projects, because the upper Aiary is in an area where Protestants ("crentes" or believers) are numerically greater. Immediately below Hipana and extending down to the mouth of the Aiary River, are numerous crente villages who maintain their separateness from their Catholic neighbors. I now turn to a brief description of these crentes.

(b) The Crentes (NTM Protestant Evangelists)

Evangelism as it is practiced on the Aiary today is apparently forging distinct life-ways from those of non-crente communities, both Catholic and traditional Baniwa, and maintained by means of a separatist ideology and rhetoric. A movement with strongly messianic and millenial overtones, evangelism began on the Aiary and Içana in the early 1950's. A generation of experience has by now tested the high morality expected of evangelical Protestants, and posed problems for the continuing affirmation of faith.

The shifts away from evangelism evident in some Baniwa communities are worth examining.

An inescapable fact and irony in my fieldwork was that I came from the country which was known by every Baniwa as the homeland of some very aggressive evangelical missionaries who, years back, had caused bitter and violent dissension among their people. A common question directed at me was whether the United States was inhabited entirely by crentes; and people were naturally suspicious at first of my interests in traditional religious practices. The native evangelist pastors, for their part, were surprised at my not being Protestant, and did their best to proselytize me; but when they realized that I was neither crente nor Catholic, the matter was dropped and I was seen rather as a government person, like a representative of the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI).

The first thing which strikes a visitor in crente villages is the heterogenous style of the dwelling-places. Often the houses are open-aired shelters without walls, or have simply poles for walls without mud covering. Sometimes they are covered with plaited thatch or have bark walls like the old malocas, though they are individual family units. Even further, they may be houses with finely painted mud walls with many tiny individual rooms inside, or houses with old and decaying crumbling walls. These different styles in themselves are striking to someone coming from Hipana and other Catholic villages where houses are generally uniform earth, painted white, with red and blue trim, usually with one large room or two (a receiving and visiting room, and a sleeping compartment with kitchen). While the names of the Catholic villages are known to outsiders by familiar lingua geral terms, or even Portuguese, crente villages have names which clearly indicate a strong influence: America, Canadá, Nazaré, etc.

At times one may hear that the crente house-styles reflect the millenial movements of the 1950's and 1960's. These millenial movements have a strong basis in traditional Baniwa religion and they have a long history dating from at least the mid-nineteenth Century. In the 1950's and 1960's, the Baniwa were told by the American evangelists to make their homes airy and light so that when a person died it would be easier for the soul to journey straight up to heaven. Also, in the "end-of-the-world" which the evangelists predicted, the saved would ascend to heaven more easily. Again, this has a strong basis in previous Baniwa millenial movements dating from the mid-nineteenth Century. In fact, the American evangelist Sofia Muller, who first brought the message of "the end of the world" to the Baniwa in 1950, delivered the message in almost the exact same terms as the early messiahs.

Among the other characteristic visible items in crente villages are the omnipresent thick, black-covered New Testaments lying about on benches. These have been translated into two dialects of Baniwa; and besides them, the crentes have innumerable mission tracts and hymnals, many in Portuguese, distributed by the missionaries, and dealing with the high morality and faith expected of crentes. The New Testaments and hymnals are used daily: before every meal an elder reads a passage from the gospel, or a prayer, while the people cover their faces in their hands. Often, in the early waking hours, one may hear hymns being sung by women during their first chores of the day, or by pastors who greet the morning with a hymn.

Literacy is emphasized by the evangelists; and both men and women receive instruction in reading the Bible and hymnals at the two American evangelist posts on the Içana and the upper Vaupés. Any person who wishes to, may reside at these posts for the period of instruction.

There are several positions of leadership which crentes may attain after instruction: Ancianos (literally, "elders") those who have been baptized by the missions and who act as daily prayer-leaders and organizers in the reunions; Diakonos (deacons) the "speakers of God" who lead and enforce order in the reunions and "conferences;" and Pastores, usually one per community, who are the active missionizers and proselytizers.

The crentes have their own system of reunions in which they meet at scheduled times during the year in selected villages to conduct religious services lasting sometimes for several days. The reunions are of two kinds: (1) Santa Ceias (Last Suppers) are held during the first week of every month, lasting a day and a night, and employing a fruit-drink called metaphorically "the Blood of Christ;" (2) Conferencias, every two weeks to a month, in rotating host villages. Both events are occasions for mass gatherings of people. At one Santa Ceia, I counted eighty to ninety people from five villages on the Aiary. Conferencias were larger, with upwards of several hundred people from villages spread over a wider region and with police sometimes summoned from the municipal capitol to prevent any crimes.

Both occasions are much anticipated by crentes, for they are times of meeting friends and engaging in common activity: besides prayers and readings from texts, there are the games of volleyball, tug-of-war, and so on. Also, there is much feasting on the plentiful food which each family who attends is expected to contribute (fish, game, fruits, etc.). One is literally stuffed in this massive consumption. People say that by the third day of conferencias, they can hardly eat any more.

There are other important ways crentes distinguish themselves from non-crentes. One has to do with the use of money for purchase of goods. As explained in Part C, above, subsistence and economy are founded and organized very much on expected reciprocity in trade and exchange among kin and affines. The conferencias and Santa Ceias seem to have the expected production of food as an essential basis. Yet, with non-crentes, crentes often have a different set of ethics. On numerous occasions, crentes from the Içana passing through Hipana village would bring food, which they would sell at high prices to their kin (e.g., the equivalent of one dollar for a single fish). In the eyes of the non-crentes, this was very much disapproved. To quote one person: "Thus are these crentes. They sell food to us. They should trade or give, not sell. This is not city life here."

Similarly, crentes are taught by the missionaries that they must purchase remedies. The American evangelists are known on the Aiary and Içana Rivers for the fact they have good remedies and, in the past, several missionaries have cured people of serious skin diseases, infections, and the more lethal sicknesses known as Manhene. Crentes and non-crentes alike make long journeys to procure the remedies, which they must purchase at cost. To complicate matters, the missionaries teach their followers not to procure remedies from any other source (i.e., Catholic or shaman) but themselves. Evangelists have instructed a great deal on uses and kinds of Western remedies, and it is not uncommon for individuals to have separate supplies, their own cases of remedies. Yet without the means to purchase these, and with the explicit rejection of other resources, people often "stay the way they are" with sickness, until remedies become available.

The use of cash is one indication among several others that crentes are in the process of forging a life-style which is distinct from that of their kin on the Aiary. I was told by several non-crentes that "they /‾the crentes_/ only want to become like white people" and this means very much imitating and teaching the ways of whites by the two models which are most often visible: the evangelist missionaries and the river merchants. So adept were some youths at observing the ways of the river merchants that on occasion they themselves were the merchants, going from village to village and collecting bushels of farinha and baskets. "Becoming white" by way of becoming a merchant or by way of purchasing expensive items and fine clothes, is given an almost Weberian justification that the merchandise and the merchants are, to quote one crente anciano: "things from God who helps us."

There is a survival aspect to this transformation into whites. In the early twentieth Century, exploitation of the Baniwa reached critical proportions. Traumatized by it, it was not uncommon for Baniwa to flee from any outsiders. In 1976-7, the situation on the Aiary was somewhat more congenial, although it was not uncommon for children to make a game of "fleeing from whites" or elders to protect maidens from whites who visited. I found that crentes were actively teaching their children not to fear the whites and in so doing, showing them their ways.

The transformation into whites means rejecting, implicitly or explicitly, traditional religion and ritual.

From the beginnings of evangelism in 1950, there was no question but that the missionaries were out to replace native religion. Dance-festivals, the drinking of beer, and smoking tobacco were equally condemned as sinful and debilitating to the soul. In some parts of the Aiary, the festivals were abandoned so rapidly that there are young adults today who have never seen nor heard the music of a panpipe and are accustomed only to the hymns of the evangelists. As for smoking tobacco and drinking beer, these are practices which were, according to tradition, given to the Baniwa by their deities Kaali and Dzuliûeri; given, in direct contradiction to what the crentes said, "for the strength of peoples' souls." These customs were the hardest to uproot; while most crentes observe their prohibition today, some are reluctant to give them up entirely and will say, "these are my only two sins."

The Kuai, or sacred flutes, and shamanism, were the first to come under fire, as the two greatest opponents of Christianity. In the history of the Vaupés and Içana region, the cults of the sacred flutes have come under attack many times, mostly by missionaries; and the most direct attack of the missionaries has been to break down at the secrecy of the flutes, their most ancient aspect. Baniwa, like all people who have or had the sacred flute cults, believe that to expose the flutes to women and the un-initiated is to risk immediate death. On several occasions in the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries, Baniwa, Tariana and Tukano of the Vaupés River rose in rebellion against missionaries who violated this belief, and expelled them from the region. Baniwa say that the secrecy of the flutes is ancient, for "it is the way

Kuai lived" as a deity in mythical times. In the 1950's, Saake and Galvão both reported that crente ancianos were going from village to village and telling in public what the flutes were all about, how they appeared, where they were kept, or openly showing them (Pe. Wm. Saake, 1956). As a result, the situation today is that it is no longer "prohibited" to show the flutes openly for crentes, nor is the guardedness and secrecy about the "Jurupary," so characteristic among non-crente adults, an aspect of crente life. To my knowledge, crentes no longer intiate children with the Kuai flutes (but I am not certain). The myths and sacred stories related to Kuai also have fallen as a result of suppression. In my experience in crente villages, there were several ways crentes dealt with my interests in mythology: to say they "did not know" which may have been true, but I was told by others that they did know but that "their hearts" had to be assured before they would speak. One elder excused himself by saying that "a sickness" had resulted in forgetting his knowledge of the stories. Finally, one crente pastor (a former shaman) tried to reconstruct the stories that he remembered, but it was painfully clear that he was "explaining" by sermonizing in the fashion of the crentes.

Having spoken of ways in which crentes are concretely forging distinctive life-styles, which include a loss of the traditional, there is one further aspect, which is grounded in rhetoric specifically used by crentes, and which serves to divide them politically from Catholics. I shall briefly discuss this rhetoric.

People remember that not so many years ago, crentes and Catholics fought bitterly. Crentes would not accept

Catholics into their chapels, nor into the same houses. The divisions became so apparent that in one village settlement, sometimes one could see two parts of the village, separated by not more than twenty five feet of space but by political and religious barriers which were as difficult to cross as they were to approach with any sense. Salesian missionaries recounted with some hurt, that on the one hand, they received NTM missionaries into the hospitality of their own dining-rooms and on the other, NTM missionaries called the Salesians "fools." Worse, Salesians were contemptuously refused entry into villages of crentes; with a typical gesture people would cross their arms instead of offering a handshake, bow their heads, and say "Inyaime" or "Demon" to the Salesians. Incidents like this were not uncommon in the early days of evangelism on the Aiary and Içana. A generation later and after several attempts at conciliatory meetings, crentes in 1976-7 still refused to greet a passing Padre, or refused to procure Catholic mission remedies. The Catholics wisely stayed clear of the conflict, but by their avoidance, e.g., sleeping on the beaches in front of crente villages when passing by instead of in the villages, they showed that they knew they may not have been greeted well by the evangelists.

In the very last week of my fieldwork, it was surprising and no less disturbing to hear the insult "Inyaime" thrown at the Catholic people of Hipana by the crentes of the upper Içana (who have, outside of this, a passing relation with the Aiary people and are supposed to be kin). The context of the incident was that the airstrip construction had just begun and Air Force officials were coming in rapidly with equipment. Meanwhile, crentes were holding a conferencia on the Içana and the wives of several men at Hipana had gone. They returned to inform the people at Hipana that several ancianos had proclaimed that all the people at Hipana were "demons" and that the outside officials had come "to take away" the people of the Aiary and Içana and that they should be avoided. Why, the people of Hipana asked, why would they say this? For many it was a familiar insult of the crentes; like a stone thrown over a wide barrier of distance and where it fell, it echoed of more bitter days. It hurt people to hear this, and it was at an especially inopportune time. When they most needed to show unity to the outsiders, the outsiders and their own kin were labelled as "demons."

How to explain this? First, the word Inyaime, in Baniwa mythology and cosmology, refers to several demon-spirits which are very much like trickster figures. Myths tell how this "devil" persecutes and fights with people. The people catch the "devil" despite its having changed, by illusion, into several forms. Another significance of Inyaime is that in the Baniwa cosmos, immediately below the entrance to the world of spirits and deities, Inyaime keeps a "fence," made of paxiuba wood, which blocks the trail leading to the heavens. Inyaime, it is said, awaits at the fence and when the souls of people pass by, Inyaime calls them away, to come to its village at the end of the trail. The village, it is said, is where the souls of wicked people go.

Catholic Baniwa most often identify Inyaime with Satan and the pictures they have seen of Catholic Satans remind them of Inyaime. Crentes, on the other hand, say that "Satan or Inyaime exists in all parts of the world" and is seen as snakes and serpents. It is said that Inyaime takes many people away to its village in the cosmos, and perhaps this is one reason why the crentes thought the outsiders were Inyaime, that the outsiders had come to "take them away." Yet this does not explain why Hipana villagers were considered "demons" and the answer to this may partly come from the early history of evangelism on the Aiary, when Hipana was a focal village in the battle between crentes and Catholics.

Catholics and non-crentes today question the high morality and the rejection of the traditional which characterize crente life. The most convincing evidence Catholics use are contradictions in this morality, what one might call "bad faith" on the part of the crentes. I have mentioned above that many serious illnesses are believed to be the effects of wicked people who give people sickness in their food or drink. Crentes say, however, that they know when someone has put evil stuff on them, when it is a "punishment from God," or when God has "called" the deceased person away from life. The really baffling problem for the crentes, according to Catholics, is that the faithful do still put poison in food and drink. During the Santa Ceia, they say, the baptized drink the fruit-drink, called "the blood of Christ" together. This ritual, the crentes say, is a time "to await Jesus." People shut their eyes and cover their faces in prayer. In the midst of this most fervent moment, wicked people have sometimes slipped poison into the drink, with terrible effects. Relatives of the victims, overcome with anger, sadness and grief over the loss of their kin, have then been quick to leave the crente persuasion. The contradictions in the high morality have been too much for them to bear. Thus Catholics are quick to point out that crentes get manhene (poison), even rejecting shamans, and can only pray or die. There are several positions a person may take if total commitment to the evangelicals is not suitable. They may be "half-crentes," attending reunions and observing crente prayers and practices, but retaining a few sins such as smoking tobacco or drinking beer. Half-crentes do not reject shamanism or the telling of sacred stories; and some of them are known for exceptional abilities in chanting curing spells. They adopt their middle position because they "enjoy their sins" or because other crentes have given sickness to their relatives, and thereby forced a questioning of faith.

People may also shift entirely to Catholicism, as have several now-Catholic villages on the Aiary which in the 1950's and '60's were crente, with the exception of Hipana. Many have left the crentes because of their radical rejection of traditional religion or because of supposedly high-moral crentes who proved to be unfaithful spouses or in-laws. Several villages have left evangelism altogether to revive the traditional dance-festivals. Finally, some Baniwa have adopted a neutral position, neither crente nor Catholic. Disaffected by the radical rejection of shamanism and dance-festivals, they have left and remained apart. They neither accept nor reject being crente; if their friends wish to learn, to study to become literate with American missionaries, it is acceptable to them, but life will go on without the necessity of being committed.

Endnotes

[1] Oliveira defines caboclos as: "... not only the descendants of mixtures between Indians and foreigners, but also those mestiços of Portuguese, Spanish, Colombian, Venezuelan and Brazilians from other states, notably from Maranhão, who have established themselves in the region, motivated by the economic exploitation of the natural resources and who absorbed and adopted something of the indigenous way of living, above all their technology. However, their social and cultural characters are oriented to an urban model and rural Brasilians." (Galvão and Oliveira, 1971: 28, fn. 3)

[2] The Achagua people, now extinct but who once inhabited a vast region of Venezuela along the upper Orinoco and its tributaries, were a part of this unity of Arawak. On the basis of their language and comparison with Baniwa dialects, Matos Arvelo came to the conclusion that the Achagua language "had perfect concordance with the dialects of Baniwa, Yavitero, Uarequena, Siuci [Oalipere-dakenai], and others of the upper Rio Negro." (Matos Arvelo, 1908: 229) Furthermore, the Achagua had the figure Kuhay in their religion (Pe. J. Rivero, writing in 1720).

[3] On the names of phratries, several sibs have sacred titles which they share in common with sibs of their own phratries. Thus Hohodene know themselves as "The Children of the Sun, the Primal Sun," while Maulieni are known as "The Primal Sun's Máku." The Primal Sun, according to myth, procured the ancestors of both. At least the Primal Sun may be considered part of a common phratric name. Oalipere have Dzũliûeri, the spritual owner of Tobacco, as part of a shared sacred name among several sibs of their phratry.

[4] There is, however, a large set of chants which shamans sing at initiation rites which have to do with how the music of Kuai was taken to all parts of the known world, beginning at Hipana and ending there. In the sense that the Kuai music is thus universalized through these chants, every main feature of the known world, its rapids, hills, and headwaters, harken back to the sacred music. The myth of Kuai,

the subject of my interpretation in Part III, relates how all the sacred music derived from the body of the culture-hero Kuai: thus all Baniwa sibs and phratries who today have ancestral flutes in some sense share in the one single body from which the flutes came. The myth, then, may be said to form a model of, or better, a vision of the first origins of all Baniwa people.

[5] Shamans are quite willing to send their patients to procure remedies from outside sources, such as missionaries and anthropologists and whomever else has remedies. One of my rôles in Hipana village was to assist shamans in this respect. Having some training in medical assistance, I was able to determine that the serious kinds of sicknesses, defined by shamans according to the categories above, are correlated with the following Western categories: rheumatic fever, amoebic dysentery, skin infections, peptic ulcers, intestinal parasites, tuberculosis, measles, heart pain (including pulmonary infection), arthritis, infections of the urinary tract, yellow fever, variola, eye infections, malaria. A few others I was unable to identify. If one were to add the pains and sicknesses for which people procure forest-remedies or use spells without the help of shamans, this list could augment considerably: insect bites, snake bites, ear aches, tooth aches, diarrhea and constipation, and "pain all over my body."

I would say that of the more serious ailments, tuberculosis, measles, dysentery, and the various infections are frequently the most lethal. They require prolonged treatment, sometimes hospitalization at the mission-posts.

[6] In many instances, the memory of the deceased stays with people long after the funeral. For a year or more, it is said, the children of the deceased remember and stay sad at the loss. Often, the children move from the settlement, abandoning the house and gardens where the deceased once lived. In several instances, the kin of the deceased regularly visit their graves, leave offerings of material goods, and ask the deceased for help from suffering in this world.

Baniwa do not have the mourning ritual oyné described for the Cubeo by Goldman (1963), when the sacred trumpets, representing the first ancestors, are played, and when sacred masks are used. Baniwa of the Aiary did have rituals with sacred masks, but indications that these were solely for mourning are not clear. Today, Baniwa funeral rites are mixtures of mission-introduced practices of cemetery-burials, with such rituals as spell-blowing (kalidzamai), canoe-coffins, burning of trees around the graves, and so on.

PART II: HISTORY OF THE BANIWA PEOPLE OF THE UPPER RIO NEGRO VALLEY

A. Perspective on prehistory

Reconstruction of pre-contact or pre-colonial Baniwa society is very important for the understanding of their history. However, what is known about Baniwa society in the times before the first contacts with the Europeans can be presented in very brief and admittedly inadequate statements. In this section, I will try to combine information derived from a few early documentary references in the eighteenth Century, with information from Baniwa oral histories and other ethnographic sources. The reconstruction by this means is fraught with difficulties, yet it must be attempted. Baniwa are among the few Native South Americans who have survived two and one-half centuries of contact and for whom a large body of documentation from the colonial period exists.

Even if this section raises more questions than it answers and makes more suggestions than proofs, it is an effort to come to terms with the life of the distant pre-colonial past. Many more hypothetical statements could have been made, but because of the total lack of concrete evidence supporting them, they have been omitted. In short, this sketch consists of a few general descriptive statements and a number of particular "facts" for which there exists confirmation from several sources. At this point, that is as much as can be done; when other historians of the Upper Rio Negro Valley join their resources, perhaps something more substantial can be said.

The first documentary references to the Baniwa are in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth Centuries. Then, the Baniwa are simply noted as living along the following rivers: sections of the Guaviare and Inirida Rivers; the far Upper Rio Negro where it is known as the Guainía; the banks of the Xié, Içana, and sections of the Vaupés Rivers, particularly along a tributary of the lower Vaupés, the Yaviary; and the Querary River off the upper Vaupés (see Map 1, p.). This is a large, geographically contiguous territory of the upper Rio Negro Valley. There is every reason to believe that Baniwa had occupied this territory for centuries before the Europeans first penetrated the upper Rio Negro.[1]

On the basis of these early documentary references and population figures from all time periods, there is every reason to suggest that a pre-contact population total for Baniwa was five thousand (John Hemmings' total population for the Baniwa in the year 1500 is six thousand; Hemming, 1978: 500). The figure has fluctuated incredibly throughout history, and it is important to keep the pre-contact estimate in mind throughout the discussion. Today, the population of Baniwa in Venezuela, Colombia and Brazil is probably fifteen hundred to two thousand.

Pre-contact settlements consisted of traditional longhouses (malocas) which were rectangular in shape, or with a rounded back end. Maloca populations are difficult to estimate, but it is not unlikely that anywhere from one hundred to one hundred and twenty five people may have lived under one roof or in groups of malocas which comprised single settlements.

One Hohodene elder began the narration of a long oral history by stating that, in the distant past, after people had first appeared on the earth, then the creator made them live in separate villages on the Aiary River:

> They lived here long ago, the old ones, thus born there from the earth. For Yaperikuli gave to us the Uaraná stream. Thus they lived there in their villages.
> We were born and they lived there, those elders. They lived at Awivakapinani, at Poatalimam, at Cuanapukum. Thus was their ancient villages ...
> (Raimundo, Hohodene elder, in 1977.)

There is strong indication in this and in other elders' statements that a single sib occupied two or three large malocas which were adjacent to one another or within a definite geographical region. Some elders stated that groups of sibs related by virtue of common membership in a single phratry occupied large, relatively contiguous territories. In the widest, most all-inclusive sense of "society" in prehistory, Hohodene said that their ancestors had "many brothers" dispersed over a wide region, belonging to different phratries, and different "tribes" who nevertheless shared ethnic and cultural similarities.

On the local level, sibs from different phratries established ongoing relations of reciprocal collaboration and alliance. Hohodene recount, for example, that their ancestors lived on the Uaraná stream, which is a river notably poor in fishing resources. In that time, the Kadapolithana sib, who belong to a different phratry, on the mid-Içana River, agreed to let Hohodene fish on the large lakes of the Içana. Hohodene today still make journeys at the same time every year to the Içana River to fish in the same lakes traditionally owned by the Kadapolithana. (An interesting aside to this story is that Hohodene state they did not use canoes in prehistoric times. Instead, they travelled over a vast network of forest trails. When river travel was used, people relied on long strips of treebark but it was never to make long journeys.)

Networks of trade and exchange were very important in prehistoric times. One of the most important networks was the trade for _curare_ (arrow poison), which the Baniwa obtained from sources on the Inirida River. The route Baniwa used was by one of the most ancient connections known to them. They traversed the short distance of the interfluvial region off the upper Cuiary River, Guainía and Xié Rivers, and went to the branches of the Atabapo and Inirida. The people who lived there were the Puinave and Piaroa, along with other Baniwa. These people were and are experts in the processing of curare poison. Baniwa then traded the curare to the people of the upper Vaupés and tributaries, and from there it could be passed on as far south as the Japurá River (Stradelli, 1891), by way of tributaries of the Papury River.

A second item of trade was quartzstone which is found at Tunui Rapids on the Içana River. This stone is useful in the making of manioc graters. Baniwa traded this quartzstone to the Wanana of the upper Vaupés, in return for which the Wanana would give them carrying-baskets (_Watura_, in _lingua geral_). These watura are not made by Baniwa, but are the special manufacture of the Wanana.

A third item of manufacture and trade which distinguished Baniwa from their immediate neighbors was ceramics. Baniwa women were highly skilled in this art and produced a large assortment of ceramics.[2]

Finally, mention should be made of the quartz pendants, worn as a ceremonial ornament by all men of the tribes on the Vaupés and Içana. These quartz pendants immediately struck the attention of the early colonial observers. The Vicar of the Rio Negro in the 1760's, Padre Monteiro Noronha, stated that the pendants were of different lengths which, he believed, reflected the existence of a "hierarchy" of social stratification among the elders of the tribes. Speaking of the Tukano people of the Vaupes, Pe. Noronha states:

> Sobre o peito trazem hũa pedra branca solida, bem levigada, de figura cylindrica, e de hũa polligada de diametro, que lhe fazem artificialmente pelo meyo de hũa extremidade a outra. Os principaes as trazem de meyo palmo de comprido; os nobres pouco menos, e os plebeos muito mais curtos. (Padre Monteiro Noronha, in Nabuco, Mem. I. Lim. Bres. Ann. II, p. 188, sect. 189)

In the 1760's and '70's, a people known as Burenari on the upper Vaupés were noted for their role as traders of quartz cylinders. Burenari travelled long distances to the west where they would obtain the white quartzstones at the headwaters of the Iça-parana, and even further into the northern Andes.[3] In Hohodene oral traditions, a sib known as Möle-dakénai, who once lived on the upper Vaupés and the upper Iça-parana, are also associated with the quartz pendants.

There is nothing in the documents which proves that the pendants were markers of hierarchical status, however. One must bear in mind that the first European observers of Indian life were always watchful for kinds of political organization which could be translated into European terms, or which could later be used by colonists for the purposes of subjugating the people. Hohodene say, for instance, that when the white people first came to the Rio Negro, the first thing they did was to strip the Indians of the quartz cylinders and other ritual ornaments.

One of the first characteristics about the Baniwa noted in the eighteenth Century documents is the "warlike" nature of their society, or the "warlike dispositions" of the men. Hohodene and Oalipere have many oral traditions about wars. The word for war in Arawak is oowi, although usually in their stories of wars, the Portuguese word guerra is used; or a combination of Baniwa and Portuguese, as in: "the elders' wars" Pedalia-pe guerra. This in itself would imply that wars are an introduction coming out of post-contact conditions. In the chart on the following page, I have summarized several oral traditions which Hohodene elders told about the "old ones' wars." The chart shows that most wars were initiated by the Vulture-people, the Jaguar-people, an unidentified people known as Wĕtsũdali, and the White-people.

By far the greatest elaboration in story content is with the Vulture-people. (According to unofficial reports in 1980, the Vulture-people are now extinct.) The stories deal with organized expeditions led by Vulture-people and their allies against the Oalipere and Hohodene of the Içana and tributaries. Nearly all narrators of the stories point out that the wars with the Vulture-people began after the white people had established a military post (quartel) on the upper Rio Negro, near the Içana. This post could only have been established after 1761, because then the Portuguese began construction of the forts of Marabitanas and São Gabriel on the upper Rio Negro. These military establishments and the slave-troops of the second quarter of the eighteenth Century certainly enhanced the conditions for warfare among the tribes of the region, as I shall demonstrate in sections 1 and 2 below.

One final instance may serve to show how conditions and the state of warfare came about after the arrival of the Europeans.

Hohodene and Oalipere Traditions of War

	Location	Actors
I. "The Abandoning of War"	Mouth of the Aiary River	Oalipere; Hohodene; Jaguar-people; Wetsūdali, an unidentified people

Event: Jaguar-people captured, killed, and ate the children of other sibs. They made war instruments and then killed people without end. They were finishing off with people. One day they decided they were living badly and that they would end their war-making by throwing away their war instruments in a nearby stream. When they had done so, Jaguar-people initiated a triadic alliance of marital exchange (which included the Hohodene, Oalipere and Jaguar-people). Thus they ended war-making, and their descendants would live well without war.

II. "Avenging the Killing of a Child"	Lake of the Bat (Kakaipiri), Içana River	Same as above

Event: A Oalipere woman and her child were killed by the Wetsūdali people. The Wetsūdali later roasted and ate them. The woman's husband saw the roast and returned to her father's village at Tucano-point on the Içana River. Her father prepared a magic club with which he returned and killed off the Wetsūdali, in payment for his daughter's death.

III. Wars of the Vulture-people

Part A: Vulture-people kill Oalipere	Paumary stream (tributary of the Içana), and Cuiary River	Vulture-people and Oalipere

Event: Vulture-people took a Oalipere woman for a wife and she died. Vulture-people organized a war expedition of five canoes against the Oalipere. They were led by a man named Mayanali. Before the war, Oalipere and Vulture-people gathered in the woods, where they held a ritual meal. All the warriors gathered in a large circle and ate roasted fish. Two men sat in the center with their machetes and poison-darts. When they finished eating, there was a skirmish in which several people were killed and several escaped into the river. The Vulture-people then returned to their village called Carma on the Içana River (_or_ on the Upper Rio Negro).

Part B: Vulture-people Return against the Oalipere	The Cuiary River	Same, with two other sibs (_Kuati_ and _Ipeka_), both of the Içana

Event: A war party of four canoes went to the Cuiary River, with many weapons, to capture the children of the Oalipere. They did not find anyone and so returned home.

Part C: The Legend of Keroaminali, Ancestor of the Hohodene	The Uaraná River (tributary of the Aiary River)	Vulture-people, white people, "Policia," Möle-dakénai, Hohodene

Event: A major battle among the whites, the Baré, Tariana, Baniwa and others against the Möle-dakénai (see Parts II.B.2, II.C.1, II.D.2 and 3, for the full story). The war resulted in the extermination of the Möle-dakénai and the forced dislocation of the Hohodene to the Rio Negro.

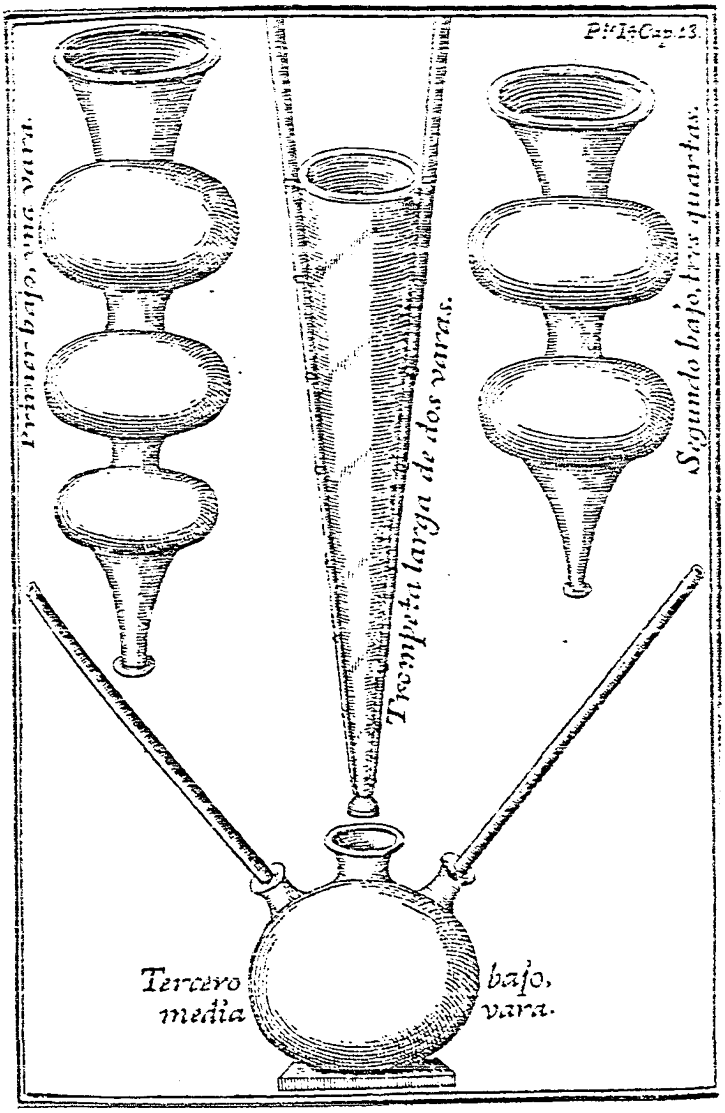
An oral history recorded in the early 1900's among the Tariana people of the Vaupés (Amorim, 1926: 180-90), states that in unspecified times, the Tariana migrated from a region outside the Vaupés, up the Rio Negro and onto the Içana River. For awhile they lived with the Oalipere-dakenai on the Aiary River. Then, one day a Oalipere chief began to fear that the Tariana, being great hunters, would deplete the game in the surrounding woods. The Oalipere asked the Tariana chief, named Boapé, to go to the Vaupés River, because "I don't want you to kill all the game of my woods" (Amorim, 1926/8: 187). Boapé was angry and shot the Oalipere chief with a poison-dart. A war ensued between the Tariana and Oalipere, and the Oalipere were almost finished off. Soon after, the Tariana left the Aiary River by connecting trails leading to the Vaupés and then went to settle around Jauareté, which has been their principal village ever since.

This story is interesting because the Venezuelan ethnographer Matos Arvelo, writing in the early 1900's, suggested that the Tariana were related to the Achagua people, who lived in pre-colonial times on tributaries of the upper Orinoco River. According to Arvelo, the Tariana were forced to migrate in the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries as a result of the intrusion of white slavers among the Achagua. The story also shows clearly that the Tariana people are allied with other Arawak and, to this day, they consider each other kin. This alliance put a heavy strain on food resources around the Aiary River, which were only sufficient to support the Oalipere but not along with the Tariana. Hence the war ensued.

Baniwa religious life was, no doubt, very different from anything ever observed by outsiders, even those who visited the Baniwa as early as 1830. As a minimum statement, the principal institutions of traditional Baniwa religious life -- namely, dance-festivals, shamanism, initiation rites and the cult of the sacred flutes -- very likely flourished in pre-colonial times. There is no reason to doubt that there was a far richer diversity in religious practices and that ritual dance ornaments and instruments were far more varied than those noted in the earliest records. Probably there were dance-festivals which were celebrated, but no observer has ever noted their characteristics.

Shamans were important figures in religious life, as they always have been. Probably, groups of shamans practiced their arts together or discussed matters to develop their arts in the direction of greater diversity of techniques and elaboration of beliefs. There may have even been schools of instruction where groups of apprentices lived over long periods of time together with groups of master practitioners. Networks of shamans probably extended over wide geographical territories. Baniwa shamans of the Içana and Querary no doubt had close, ongoing associations with the shamans of the Iniridá, upper Orinoco and tributaries.

The earliest references to the cult of sacred flutes and trumpets are found in the writings of the Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth and early eighteenth Centuries. The Jesuits on the Orinoco, such as Fathers Gumilla and Gilij, wrote that the flutes and trumpets were known as "botutos" (or Fututos). The name, however, is probably a catch-all term, like "Jurupary" by which all outsiders knew and recognized Indian religion. In any case, each tribe had its own separate term to represent the sacred flutes and trumpets. (See plate of a "botuto" on the following page.)


P.te I.a Cap. 13.
Primer bajo, una vara.
Trompeta larga de dos varas.
Segundo bajo, tres quartas.
Tercero bajo,
media vara.

Instrumentos fúnebres usados por los indígenas salivas.

PLATE : Funeral Instruments of the Saliva.

(From Gumilla, El Orinoco Ilustrado)

Jesuit observers were very much impressed with the cult and dances of the sacred flutes, but they were baffled by their significance. Gilij believed that, for the Maypure people of the upper Orinoco, the sacred trumpets, known by the indigenous name of Cueti, represented an Animal of the forest:

> Cueti significa animal. Los maypures crean que los serpientes vienen de vez en cuando en sus aldeas, que toman consigo bebidas, y que se diviertan en bailar junto con los hombres. (Ensayo, tomo II: 235-6)

Padre Juan Rivero, writing in 1731, noted that among the Achagua people, there was the important dance called Chuway: "en que se disfrazan todos a manera de matachines y llaman chuway" (Rivero, 1950: 109). The Achagua, in other words, may have used sacred masks in order to represent the figure. In the late nineteenth Century, sacred masks were observed among the Tariana people who lived on the Vaupés River.

In the late eighteenth Century, the scientific travellers Alexandre von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland noted the great importance of the cults located on the upper Guainía, where it joins the Tomo River. This is exactly in the territory of the Baniwa. According to Humboldt, "there are but a small number of these trumpets. The most anciently celebrated is that upon a hill near the confluence of the Tomo and Guainía ..." (1907: 362-3). The flutes and trumpets were a central institution in religious and political life. According to Humboldt, had colonization not destroyed Indian societies in the early eighteenth Century, then "the botuto cult of Tomo could have been of some political importance, where the guardians of the trumpets would become a ruling caste of priests, and the oracle of Tomo could gradually form a link between bordering nations." (Ibid.: 364) Humboldt says that the sacred trumpets of Tomo represented "the voice of the Great Spirit" who was the ancestor, who "regulated the seasons and favors of the harvest." (Ibid.)[4]

Humboldt's remarks are most to the point because they highlight aspects of creativity in the cults of the sacred flutes. The flutes represent "the ancestor" and more specifically, they represent an ongoing and intimate relationship between humans and their own ancestors. The relationship is creative and dynamic for it sustains the periodicity which is vital to the growth of the harvest. Humboldt describes the use of the flutes in initiation rituals; the ancestral flute cults promoted the growth of the harvest as they provided for the growth of social groups. Finally, Humboldt saw that authority in Baniwa society was vested in the group who possessed the flutes. Above all, it is the continuous renewal of the relationship of humans with their first ancestors which was the basis of the cults. (See especially Part III of this thesis for further interpretation along these lines.)

In general, the pre-contact age for the Baniwa came after the creation of the first ancestors and before the historical ancestors encountered the Europeans. There are so few oral histories which are about this time that it is as if life for the ancestors passed on as people continued to enjoy the order which had been created and which could be continually renewed in the sacred rituals.

In the creation stories, the Hohodene, Oalipere and others stated that their ancestors were known generically as Enawi-nai (no translation possible). Enawi-nai figure as the elder siblings of a phratry, and they have the status of chiefs-of-people. The Enawi-nai were good people (*newiki matchiapiri*). For the Hohodene, the *Enawi-nai* were the sib called *Möle-dakénai* and these people were exterminated in the past. The "good people" *Enawi-nai* now dwell in the "other world" in the heavens, with the other first ancestors. The chiefs of people were lost, and they were replaced in historical times by the "Governor" of the European society (see M.3.I in Part V, for an explicit statement of this).

With the loss of the good people, the Baniwa were left in a world where things are not so good, a world of pain and sickness. The Baniwa see the time after the first contacts with Europeans in some ways as a fall, a loss of Paradise which went with the loss of the good people. From the eighteenth Century on, this world has become a place of pain, where demons can reign at times and persecute people, where cannibalistic tribes can capture and eat people, and where sickness, dirt and venom prevail in the world. The Hohodene and other sibs believe this to be true and in their own traditions they state as much.

One story which the Hohodene told was about a people who used to live on the Quiary River, a tributary off the lower Aiary. These people were known as *Kawidzuli* (people of pain). Another people made war just to kill. They walked about the region creating havoc and wreaking destruction as they went. The whole story, as it is told, is chaotic and frightening. The end of it is that pain in the form of biting insects and all "castigo" were left on the Quiary River such that no more *Kawidzuli* were left.

Another story a Hohodene elder remembered, very probably dating to early colonial experience, is about the Manao people and the religion of Jurupary. The Manao people were the most numerous, powerful, prosperous and enterprising people of the middle Rio Negro Valley up until the 1720's and '30's. The story of the destruction of the Manao by the Portuguese has been told by several historians, notably Sweet (1974). The Hohodene in 1976 remembered the Manao (or "Manawe," "Mahinawe") in one story which went as follows:

> Long ago the Portuguese arrived by ship to the Rio Negro and a Manao was taken prisoner because, it was said, he had robbed some things of the Portuguese. The Manao was taken to Portugal and sailed one month by ship. There he saw people playing "Jurupary" but it was not like it should be, for women were listening to the music and women were whipping. (L.F.-RMW. Field Notebook 16:15)

What is of interest in this story is that both the Manao and the Portuguese are depicted as beings with inverted morals and social order. Manao are "thieves" while Portuguese religion has characteristics exactly the opposite of Indian religion. The point to stress is that the early colonial times are depicted in this story as a world where inversions and opposites become the order, a world which is turned over in symbolic representations, and, in fact, utterly contradictory to the "normal" ways of life.

Before proceeding, a few brief words are in order here on the organization of Part II by historical periods. Part II.B focusses on the period from the end of the seventeenth Century to the beginning of the nineteenth Century. This span of approximately one hundred to one hundred and twenty five years is divided into two sub-periods. The first (B.1) can be called protohistory, beginning at the time of the first direct or indirect influence on Indian societies from European society, and ending with the establishment of permanent institutions and historical record-keeping by resident Europeans (Sweet, 1974: x).

This was an extremely disruptive time for all Indian societies of the Rio Negro Valley. It is not inaccurate to say that it was a period of holocaust, for thousands of Indian people were massacred and whole societies were wiped out as the Portuguese and Spanish conquistadores engaged in their relentless expansion, conquest and search for slaves, gold, and wealth.

The second part of this period (B.2, 3) is concerned with early colonial history when the permanent institutions of colonial government were forcibly imposed on native peoples, along with colonial programs of economic development, and Christianity. Epidemic diseases swept the Northwest Amazon region during this time, causing major losses in the Rio Negro population. Early colonial government on the Rio Negro then survived for only a short time before failures in the system brought about its decline. Meanwhile, many Indians fled from colonial authority and returned to their traditional ways of living.

Part II. C covers a period of approximately fifty years (1800-50) during which there were three major historical processes: Indians of the Upper Rio Negro reconstructed their societies; white merchants began intensive activities and small business enterprises on the Upper Rio Negro, contributing to a situation of economic dependence among the native people; and a new, syncretic "folk Catholicism" began to have a strong influence among the caboclos (peasants) and Indians of the Upper Rio Negro in Venezuela. By the 1850's, certain messianic leaders appeared and preached a message of overturning the dominant social and political order.

Part II.D focusses on a ten-year period from 1850-60 which was one of the most significant "moments" in the history of the Upper Rio Negro region and requires a unified, extended treatment. It began with a new program of government colonization, which included forced resettlement of the Indians, compulsory labor programs and missionization. The military and merchants worked together in conducting military raids on Indian villages to obtain laborers and children who would later be sold. Certain tribes of the Vaupés and Içana were massacred and persecuted by the military for resistance. In 1857, the military raided Baniwa villages and coerced Baniwa into supplying military posts with food and laborers. The oppression, suffering and humiliation became so great that from 1857-60, the Indian people on the Vaupés, Içana, and Xié Rivers engaged in organized rebellion. Several powerful messiahs arose who led people in millenarian movements. As a result of some reported crimes during this time, a special government commission was sent from Manaus to quell the rebellions and to apprehend the leaders. Fearing government reprisals, the messiahs fled the region and sought asylum in Venezuela. The government commission then attempted to re-establish "order" and to remove those military, merchants and missionaries who had contributed to or aggravated the uprisings.

The principal focus of Part II.E is the fifty-year period from 1860-1910. This coincides roughly with a time of major economic transformation in the Amazon region, the rubber boom. From 1875 to 1900, there was a resurgence of messianic activity on the upper Rio Negro. Also, from 1880 to 1900, Franciscan missionaries worked on the Vaupés and its tributaries. They began a campaign against traditional Indian religion, which led to rebellion and conflicts in religious beliefs. With the close of the rubber boom in 1910, this narrative essentially stops. In various other sections of the thesis (I.D.2, III.D.1), the time from 1910 to 1976 is considered in greater detail.

PART II.B: A TIME OF UPHEAVAL AND THE EARLY FORMATION OF COLONIAL SOCIETY IN THE REGION

II.B.1: Official Slaving and Depopulation of the Upper Rio Negro Valley (1725-55)

> The basic fact of life for Indians, and for racially mixed or Black people if they were slaves in colonial Pará, was that whatever their legal status in the colony and whatever their personal circumstances, they were all obliged to work for other peoples' benefit most of the time--and be ready to leave their homes and go do so for indefinite periods at a moment's notice....
>
> The basic fact of life for white people (and for free mameluços, mulattos, and Black people) in colonial Pará was that--however miserable their economic circumstances, or however much they might be humiliated and abused by white people of higher social status--they were never obliged to do the kinds of work, or submit to the kinds of degradation which were the everyday lot of all Indians and slaves of whatever race.... (D. Sweet, 1974: 143-4)

The overall purpose of this section is to assess the extent to which the slave trade depopulated the far upper Orinoco and Rio Negro regions. Specifically, my concern is with how Baniwa fared during the most intensive years of the slave trade: 1739-52. I will try to show that the Baniwa did not suffer heavy losses, that they remained numerous during these years, and that they absorbed renegade slaves into their own numbers. It is remarkable that Baniwa and their neighbors on the Vaupés did survive the slave trade, but it was primarily due to the fact that slavers were systematically depopulating all other tribes in the immediate vicinity on the upper Rio Negro. Many once-powerful and numerous peoples of the upper Rio Negro were gone by the end of the slave trade in the 1750's.

The slave trade first reached the territory of the Baniwa in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth Centuries. There were essentially two routes by which the slave trade approached: by the upper Orinoco and by the Rio Negro. In this time, the trade on the upper Orinoco was dominated by Cariban-speaking peoples who traded slaves to the Dutch and the French. The Rio Negro trade was dominated by the Portuguese from Pará or by the Manao people who lived on the middle Rio Negro and who traded slaves to the Portuguese.[5]

In the Orinoco Basin, numerous Cariban-speaking groups were expanding and forming colonies shortly after the establishment of the first European settlements on the northern coast of South America (Morey and Marwitt, in Brownman, 1978: 251). Carib war parties were known to be raiding far up the Orinoco in the seventeenth Century. It is generally agreed, however, that the European trade for slaves intensified Carib raiding and warfare. The French and the Dutch forced the Caribs to increase their raiding activities by keeping the Caribs constantly in debt for the trade goods which the Europeans introduced (R. and N. Morey, 1973: 237; Sweet, 1974: 252-63). Carib raiding of villages on the upper Orinoco valley lasted until approximately 1770 when the Spaniards finally brought it under control.

War parties of Caribs were known to have ventured onto the Guaviare River in the early eighteenth Century and probably before (Pe. Gumilla, writing in 1745, 1963, II, cap. 8: 281). The people whom the Carib were raiding took defensive measures by grouping together into large settlements for protection. Early Jesuit observers noted that the villages of the Guaypunave and Caverre people of the upper Orinoco were well-fortified. The Caverres were known to have a series of watchtowers along the Guaviare River; they communicated the approach of war-parties by means of signal drums (Gilij, 1965: 188-9, 325).

Perhaps the first reference to Baniwa in the documents occurs in this context of occupation of fortified villages during the years of the Carib slave trade. As the story goes, in the late seventeenth Century, a Jesuit Father sent a Saliva Indian from the Orinoco on an expedition to the region of the upper Orinoco and Guaviare. The purpose of the visit was to determine the number of Achagua Indian villages there were in the region, "por ser esa gente la que se trataban de reducir" (Rivero, writing in 1733, 1956: 37). The Saliva Indian went on the journey sometime during the year 1701. He reported back to the mission that there were twenty one large pueblos of Achagua on the riverbanks up to the Guaviare River. Beyond the Achagua, there was news of:

> la nacion Bamigua, que es muy numerosa hasta el dia de hoy, y que se va extendiendo hasta la otra banda del Guaviare [probably, the Iniridá River]; averiguaron igualmente que en aquellos sitios habia otra nacion, que es la de los *Cavarris*, muy celebrada por lo numeroso del gentio y por su valor; corren sus poblaciones hasta las margenes del **Inirrida**, cujas bocas estan habitadas por innumerables Cavarris; son muy conocidos estos indios no solo en el Orenoco, por la resistencia que hacen a los Caribes, sino tambien en los llanos, por el buen entendimiento y habilidades que han mostrado algunos que han salido a Santiago.
> (Pe. Juan Rivero, 1956: 37)

On the Rio Negro, Portuguese slaving activities began well before there were any written documents about them. In the seventeenth Century, enterprising individuals from Pará and Maranhão probably negotiated for slaves from the people living along the banks of the lower Rio Negro. With the slaves, they would collect the rich forest products, such as cacao, growing along the banks of the middle Amazon and Solimões (Sweet, 1974: 468). Private slaving activity, such as this, "was a feature of the regional economy from the very beginning of the colony in the seventeenth Century until at least the 1750's" (*Ibid*.: 479).

The policy of official slaving, however, affected the Rio Negro population far more than private slaving (although both operated on the Rio Negro separately or together throughout the first half of the eighteenth Century) (Sweet, 1974: 480). Official slaving had two forms: tropas de guerra (war troops) and tropas de rescate (ransom or rescue troops). The first were "official government expeditions sent to 'punish' Indian tribes which had attacked Europeans without provocation, charged with capturing and enslaving as many members of the 'guilty' tribes as possible" (Ibid.: 819). The best known of these tropas were probably those sent against the Arawak people of Lake Saracá off the lower Rio Negro, in the late seventeenth Century, and another sent against the Manao and Maiapena in the first quarter of the eighteenth.

Tropas de resgate were "official government expeditions sent to barter trade goods for slaves with friendly Indian chiefs, which normally also raided villages to capture people as well" (Ibid.: 819; also, Chapter 11 of Sweet, 1974). Ransoms were supposed to be undertaken on "barbarians who had been tied up by their enemies and were in danger of being eaten." Both inter-tribal warfare and the practice of cannibalism were considered to be "just causes" for troops to enter into negotiation with chiefs to obtain captives or to make war on the aggressors. Once the captives were obtained, they were bound with ropes and taken back to the slavers' base-camp (known as an arraial). There, they were subjected to examination by Jesuit missionaries, to determine the legal basis for enslavement. A paper document would be the result of the examination. If the slaves were considered taken with just cause, they would wait to be shipped off to Pará. In the eighteenth Century, the time with which we are mostly concerned, the official troops tended to work in conjunction with private slavers (though not always), whereas previously they had been kept separate:

> During the seventeenth Century, official tropas, private slavers and missionary-sponsored descents of people to be settled in missions as "free workers" operated somewhat separately and in competition; in the eighteenth Century, the separate operations tended to coalesce until by the 1740's, on the Negro, the tropas de rescate were composed largely of private citizens and cynically charged with bringing about "voluntary" resettlements of people in the very midst of its slaving. (Sweet, 1974: 689)

In 1694, a Portuguese commander from Pará established a permanent military outpost at the mouth of the Rio Negro. It was known as the Fortaleza da Barra and was the distant ancestor of the modern-day city of Manaus. The establishment was to become one of the major locations for Portuguese slaving operations on the Rio Negro in the eighteenth Century. It was set up with the intent of controlling the Dutch slaving operations on the Rio Branco and its tributaries.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth Century, the Manao people played a key role in the Rio Negro slave trade. The Manao controlled virtually all slave traffic from the 1690's through the 1720's and traded for slaves as far afield as the upper Rio Negro and upper Orinoco. They conducted trade with the Portuguese and with the Dutch until 1725. From 1723-5, the Portuguese conducted an all-out war of extermination and enslavement against the Manao people (see especially, Sweet, 1974: Chapter 10). The wars against the Manao and later against the Maiapena, northern neighbors of the Manao, were scandals of depredation in the history of Portuguese colonization of the Rio Negro. As a result of the wars, the Manao and Maiapena were effectively eliminated, or pushed away from the banks of the Rio Negro. The once powerful and proud tribes were mostly captured, enslaved and sent to Pará, while the Manao and Maiapena who remained were forced to adapt their lives by becoming useful servants to the missionaries or Portuguese slavers. Numbers of them remained in hiding or in fugitive communities (known as mocambos) in the forest for years after their defeat.[6]

The real reason for the wars against the Manao and Maiapena was that they "stood in the way of aggression" (Sweet, 1974: 537) of expansion and conquest by the Portuguese up to the rich slaving grounds of the upper Rio Negro valley.

> No demographic data for the upper Rio Negro in this period are available; and there are still no reliable figures for the number of slaves transported to Pará in any period. All that can be said so far is that as a result of the war of 1723-30 on the Negro, the country adjacent to the middle reaches of the river was very largely depopulated and that this left the passage for slavers to the populous Upper Rio Negro virtually unimpeded. (Sweet, 1974: 557)

In fact, Portuguese slave troops had visited the far upper Rio Negro as early as 1725 and 1726. According to Sampaio, a ransom troop explored the river connections of the upper Negro, Orinoco and Cassiquiare and reached a river known as Yavita (or, Yauissa), a tributary of the Atabapo River. Sampaio implies that a slaving camp was begun somewhere on this river (Sampaio, in Nabuco, Lim. I Mem. Bres. Ann. II: 188). No document has been found, however, which gives figures on the number of slaves which may have been taken.[7]

Really, the Portuguese could not have established permanent slave-camps on the far upper Rio Negro before 1730 because of the Manao people. After the wars, however, then the ransom troops could operate unimpeded in the upper Rio Negro. From 1728 to 1755, troops were in operation virtually at all times on the Rio Negro and Solimões. Humboldt observed that it was "from the year 1737 that the Portuguese visits to the Upper Rio Negro and Orinoco became quite frequent. They exchanged slaves for hatchets, fish-hooks and glass trinkets. They induced the Indian tribes to make war upon one another" (Humboldt, 1907: 426-7).

> Nothing in the documents for this period gives cause to doubt that a minimum of 1000 slaves a year were brought to Pará during this decade as before (a figure which takes no account of the perhaps equal numbers resettled by means of Jesuit, Carmelite and Mercedarian "descimentos" from upriver missions to their aldeias on the lower valley). This rate was maintained after 1730 thanks to the ruthless operation of government operated tropas de resgate on the Rio Negro. (Sweet, 1974: 495)

The principal ransom troops working on the Upper Rio Negro (URN) from the late 1730's through the early 1750's were those headed by Lourenço Belfort (1737-9, 1744-5), José Miguel Ayres (1739-40, 1748-49), João da Cunha Correia (1740-1), and Estacio Rodrigues (1741-3). All of these troops had as their slaving chaplain the Jesuit Father Achilles Maria Avogadri who was based at Mariuá and who had the reputation of being "the greatest and least scrupulous chaplain of them all" (Sweet, 1974: 730-1 in Appendix J. and p. 600). Avogadri stayed with the slave trade for some fourteen years until the slave trade was abolished; then he retired to the Jesuit aldeia of Mortigura near Belem do Pará, until the Jesuit expulsion in 1757.

Belfort and Rodrigues worked directly on the Vaupés and Içana; thus we must consider their effects on Baniwa and other people. In the 1740's Belfort set up a slave-camp at the mission of Dari (later, Lamalonga) and specifically forbade anyone from conducting any slaving activities above the rapids, on the Vaupés and Içana. In the 1740's, however, an enterprising individual named Pedro da Braga (probably the son of a slaver on the Rio Negro) arrived on the scene with a group of Indian allies and defied Belfort's orders (Sweet, 1974: 669-71). Braga went on to set up friendly trading relationships with several native chiefs and moved in with the niece of a chief named Aguipi. Braga then managed to ship slaves past Belfort's checkpoint station, defying all Belfort's attempts to take him prisoner. When Belfort finally caught up with Braga, Braga's creditors put up such a fuss, that Belfort was forced to change his tactics with respect to the outlaw. He then put Braga in charge of a troop on the Vaupés. The Jesuit Father Ignacio Szentmartonyi, writing in 1753, states that Braga's explorations extended to the far upper Vaupés, well into the territory of the "Boapés" people who were known to have access to gold.

> No contemporary documents are available to help us get an idea of how Braga's independent slaving principality functioned internally on the Vaupés during the 1740's. He had a working relationship with Carmelite missionaries on the Rio Negro and presumably sold slaves to the successive *tropas de resgate* or to private expeditions as the opportunities presented themselves. The nature of his relationship with his Indian followers can only be surmised. He must have been a man of considerable endurance, resourcefulness and leadership skill, with a broader knowledge of the economic and political realities of Amazon life than his Indian allies themselves. He offered them an alternative to constant victimization by the slave raiders--a chance to survive and even prosper on the model laid down by the Caribs and the Manao long before, as invaluable

> intermediaries and even independent actors in the operation of the god-forsaken trade in slaves. (Sweet, 1974: 671)

One of the first things which the slavers became interested in on the Vaupés, besides slaves, were the finely-polished and crafted ear pendants which the Tariana people of the Vaupés were seen wearing as part of their usual set of ornaments. Lourenço Belfort believed that they were "gold" and "of excellent quality." Belfort was told that the source of the gold was a lake "covered with gold," "in which much gold lies" the "celebrated and desired Lake of Gold" somewhere at the headwaters of the Vaupés (see Appendix B.1.a, of this thesis. This is a translation of a document written by the Hungarian Jesuit Father Ignacio Szentmartonyi, who lived at Mariuá in the early 1750's. It is based on direct quotations from Belfort and a host of other major slaving operators on the Rio Negro in this period. The present reference to Belfort is found on the first page of the document).

At that time, a people known as "Boapés" were thought to be the last population living on the upper Vaupés; and above them was the Lake of Gold. The people who owned the Lake traded with the Tariana, and they in turn passed them on to people of the Japurá River. Tariana kept Harpy eagles as pets for their feathers, from which they wove beautiful feather ornaments. The feather ornaments were then used in exchange for the "gold" earrings (A.R. Wallace still could find out this information in the mid-nineteenth Century, 1853: 203).

No one has yet determined who the owners of the Lake of Gold actually were. It is impossible even to state a definite location for the Lake because on the maps of the region which date from the 1760's and 1770's, the Lake is not at the headwaters of the Vaupés but at the headwaters of the Rio Negro. One reasonable hypothesis is that _if_ there were a trade in gold ornaments, the manufacturers were probably the Chibcha or other Northern Andean peoples. In the mid-sixteenth Century, and well before, Chibcha were known for their fine work in gold. An alternate hypothesis is that there was _no_ Lake of Gold nor any real "gold" at all. Two other observers of Vaupés life, both of whom saw the "gold" earrings, stated that the earrings were finely-polished copper, "so polished to appear like gold" (A.R. Wallace, 1853: 204; Reis, 1940). Braga, however, tried to bludgeon his way into the "gold-trade," and went to the headwaters of the Vaupés. He was forced to return because of the "many and ferocious Indians" who prohibited his access to the Lake (Appendix B.1.a, p. 1). Whether or not Braga returned the "hostility" with a war-troop (_tropa de guerra_) is not known, yet until there was sufficient doubt to cast on the possible existence of gold, slavers or other backwoodsmen probably tried a number of ways to get it, including war expeditions.

In 1741, when Estacio Rodriques replaced Belfort, he negotiated a peaceful descent of Baniwa. (By "peaceful descent" we mean the more or less persuasive or coercive bringing of people downriver where they could be concentrated into more compact settlements.) The story on this descent is quite short and, like so many other documents of the slaving period, it is woefully lacking in figures and details. In 1740-1, a private slaver worked on the URN. The slaver persuaded Baniwa to descend the Rio Negro to some point. There they awaited authorization for the transportation of the Baniwa to various villages "where they might be of most use to the Royal Service" (Sweet, 1974: 608-9, citing Castel Branco, Instrução Pará, 27 nov. 1741, ms. BAPP 485, no. 396). When Estacio Rodrigues assumed the command of the troops, he was instructed to send the Baniwa "with canoes well-supplied with food, according to instructions obtained from Father Avogadri, and guarded by people who would treat the Indians well and avoid any escapes during the journey" (Ibid.).

Perhaps the most successful of the troops in the 1740's was that led by Francisco Xavier Mendes de Moraes (brother of Belchior, who led the war troop against the Manao, and a long-time slaver on the Rio Negro). Moraes worked on the far upper Rio Negro and apparently set up a slave camp on the Yauitá River. This slave camp was one of three of the principal locations for slave camps at this time (others were at Yaceita, near the Cassiquiare mouth, and one near the village of a Maribitana chief named Cocuy /alternate spellings: Couci, Cucui/ on the upper Rio Negro). The camp on the Yavita was, no doubt, near a village of the Parayeni people, whose chief was named Jacobo Yavitá. This chief was one of the most important slavers working for the Portuguese in the early 1750's. Humboldt met the old chief at the end of the eighteenth Century and offers this description:

> The chief named Yavita was the ally of the Portuguese. He pushed his hostile incursions from the Rio Japurá or Caquetá, one of the great tributary streams of the Amazon, by the Rivers Vaupés and Xié.... He was furnished with letters patent, which authorized him to bring the Indians from the forest, for the conquest of souls. He availed himself amply of this permission; but his incursions had an object which was not altogether spiritual, that of making slaves to sell to the Portuguese.
> (Humboldt, 1907: 353)

Moraes' relationship with the chief is never explicitly stated in the documents. Yet both of them surely travelled over a large part of the region.

Perhaps Moraes' most famous venture was in 1744, when he led a squad (bandeira) up the Cassiquiare and on to the Orinoco without disembarking from their canoes. On the Orinoco, they met a Father Manuel Roman, Superior of the Spanish Jesuit Missions. The occasion was historic in the sense that it was a "discovery" of the connection between the Orinoco and the Rio Negro, which had been so long unknown and denied by both Spanish and Portuguese. It was a total surprise to both parties and Father Roman confessed that he was under the impression that all people of the Rio Negro were "gigantic" (Appendix B.1.a).[8]

Moraes took Father Roman with him down the Rio Negro to the slave camp where they were supposed to meet Father Avogadri. Moraes and Roman did not go downriver empty-handed, for according to what Father Szentmartonyi was told in 1753, eighty Indians (probably of the Mandavaka and Mabana tribes) were descended from that one journey.

A total figure for the Upper Rio Negro population which was taken as slaves during the period of the tropas de resgate will probably never be ascertained with total accuracy. However, one estimate was provided by Father Szentmartonyi, who was based at the major slaving camp of Mariua in 1752-3 and who knew the major slavers of the time. He states that the total number descended from the upper Rio Negro in the 1740-50 period was about 20,000, while 6,000 baptisms were performed at the Mariua camp alone (Appendix B.1.a, p. 5). There are strong reasons to believe that this figure is not high, because until about 1750-5, the exploration and systematic depopulation of the

Rio Branco and upper Rio Negro proceeded without interruption. Whole tribes which were prominent in the upper Rio Negro region at the time of the first European penetration were gone by the 1760's.

The ideological grounds for this systematic depopulation was that the people were "cannibals" and that they were holding war captives for later consumption. Proof that any people of the URN were "cannibals" was often as trumped-up as it was used as a stereotype which gave the slavers their justification. Father Szentmartonyi was told by virtually all of the slavers that in essence, all people of the URN were fair game, for the taking of slaves. According to what Avogadri told Szentmartonyi: "There is none of these nations who does not eat human flesh, such that even the smallest enemy of those captured is held to the day of the feast" (Appendix B.1.a, p. 4). Belfort told Szentmartonyi that, with regard to the people of the Vaupés, "The people on the left bank of the Cajari do not eat human flesh, but on the right they do" (Ibid.: p. 9). At the time, Baniwa lived on a tributary of the right bank (the Yaviary), along with the Arawak-speaking Kuevana (see the Ethno-historic Map at the end of this section).

Some of the chiefs who were called "the greatest cannibals" probably supplied the greatest number of slaves to the Portuguese or were most resistant to Portuguese attempts to make them descend the river with their people. On the URN, for instance, there were two brothers, named Cucui, chief of the Marabitanas, and Immu, chief of the Manitibitanas. Cucui lived around the present-day settlement of Marabitana, and Immu lived in 1755 on a famous lake of the Rio Ubatiba (Bativa) which flows off the upper Cassiquiare. Stories and legends have arisen about Cucui's presumed cannibalism (see, for instance, Amorim 1926/8 "The story of Kukuhy": 301-8). Immu was similarly famous. No one ever saw the practices which were alleged. In fact, when Humboldt visited the URN at the end of the eighteenth Century, Cucui was remembered as a respected chief and the very idea of cannibalism was repugnant to the remaining Marabitanas (Humboldt, 1907: 393).

The Marabitanas, Marepizanas, along with the Guaypunaves were by far the most numerous and powerful people of the URN-Upper Orinoco until the late 1750's and 1760's. Cucui for awhile was persuaded by Portuguese to bring numbers of people to the slave camps of the URN. Immu was relatively more of an ally to the Spanish, although he was approached by Francisco Xavier Mendes de Moraes, to whom he reluctantly supplied slaves (see Szentmartonyi, in Appendix B.1.a). The chief of the Guaypunaves, named Cuseru, was "a friend of the Jesuits" (Humboldt, 1907: 331) but in the 1750's became involved in "wars of extermination" on the Atabapo and Inirida Rivers. With the combination of the chiefs Yavita, Cuseru, Cucui, Immu and others, each working for one or more of the slavers, or conducting wars induced by the slavers, the URN-Upper Orinoco was a veritable cauldron of chaos and seething tempers in the mid-1750's. This is probably when the region suffered the heaviest losses in population.

Both Spanish and Portuguese officials were extremely concerned with these affairs, particularly since they were about to embark on an important mission to delimit their respective territories. Governor Mendonça Furtado, who worked as much as possible to reverse the Portuguese slaving situation, tried to persuade Cucui, Immu and others (Joá of the Kuena, Mabé of the Mabana) to descend the river to be Christianized and to live peacefully in Mariua. Both refused the invitation (Cartas 136-7, in Mendonça, 1963: 853-5). A Spanish commission, led by Don José de Iturriaga and Francisco Solano made an expedition with militia of 100 soldiers to the upper Orinoco in 1754. One of the purposes was "to drive out the Portuguese from the territory of New Spain." Another purpose was to take captive some of the principal Indian leaders (for instance, Yavita was taken captive and made to settle at a mission). A final purpose was to initiate Spanish settlements at the borders. The commission was apparently successful at cooling the situation on the upper Orinoco, although it took years of work to do so.[9]

Private slaving by the Portuguese in the 1740's quickly developed into a competition the limits of which could never be defined. Slavers became like greedy barons fighting for the possession of their precious slaves. One of these slaving barons was Francisco Portilho de Mello. In the 1740's, Portilho conducted a grand-scale private operation on the URN, and is supposed to have had many Indian allies, with "more than 700 people in his service." Portilho became so powerful that by the early 1750's the Governor made a plea to the King to put a clamp on Portilho's activities (Doc. no. 38, JXMF-Rei, 12/2/51, in Mendonça, 1963: 87). Portilho supplied slaves to Avogadri and to Mercedarian missionaries at various times, and there is no reason to doubt that it was on the order of hundreds of slaves a year: "porque no mesmo sertão são infinitos indios que lhes entrega" (JXMF_Rei, 1/26/52, in Mendonça, 1963: 212-3).

In 1752, another private slaver, Manuel Diaz Cardoso, worked on the Içana River and persuaded a Baniwa chief named

Makupi to bring his people in descent to Pará (Sweet, 1974: 744 and 749, fn.65, for documentary reference). As Cardoso and the Baniwa proceeded downriver, Portilho ambushed them, captured the chief and others, and sent them on to Mariua (Szentmartonyi, p. 1, mentions Makupi and the Baniwa. Clearly, Portilho supplied the Baniwa to Avogadri). No numbers, again, are available to assess how many Baniwa were taken.

Sweet has suggested that the Baniwa "appear to have remained numerous throughout the period of depopulation and to have absorbed the remnants of other tribes in their number" (1974: fn. 15). In 1755, an Anonymous document states that "Manibas" were still on the Içana "em grande quantidade." Padre Juan Rivero pointed the same for the *Bamiguas* of the Guaviare River, although earlier in the eighteenth Century. In general, slavers who worked among the Baniwa do not seem to have penetrated beyond the great falls of the Içana, known as Tunui. The only concrete evidence I can offer to support this is a map comparison. In 1740 maps (in Nabuco, *Atlas*, 1907), very small sections of the Vaupés, Içana and Xié Rivers are actually shown. Maps made in the 1760's and 1770's, however, during the period of "descents" to be discussed in the following section, show the major arteries of the Içana beyond Tunui Rapids. In all, therefore, I would estimate that Baniwa lost about *one-fifth* or less of their population during the slave period, until the mid-1750's.

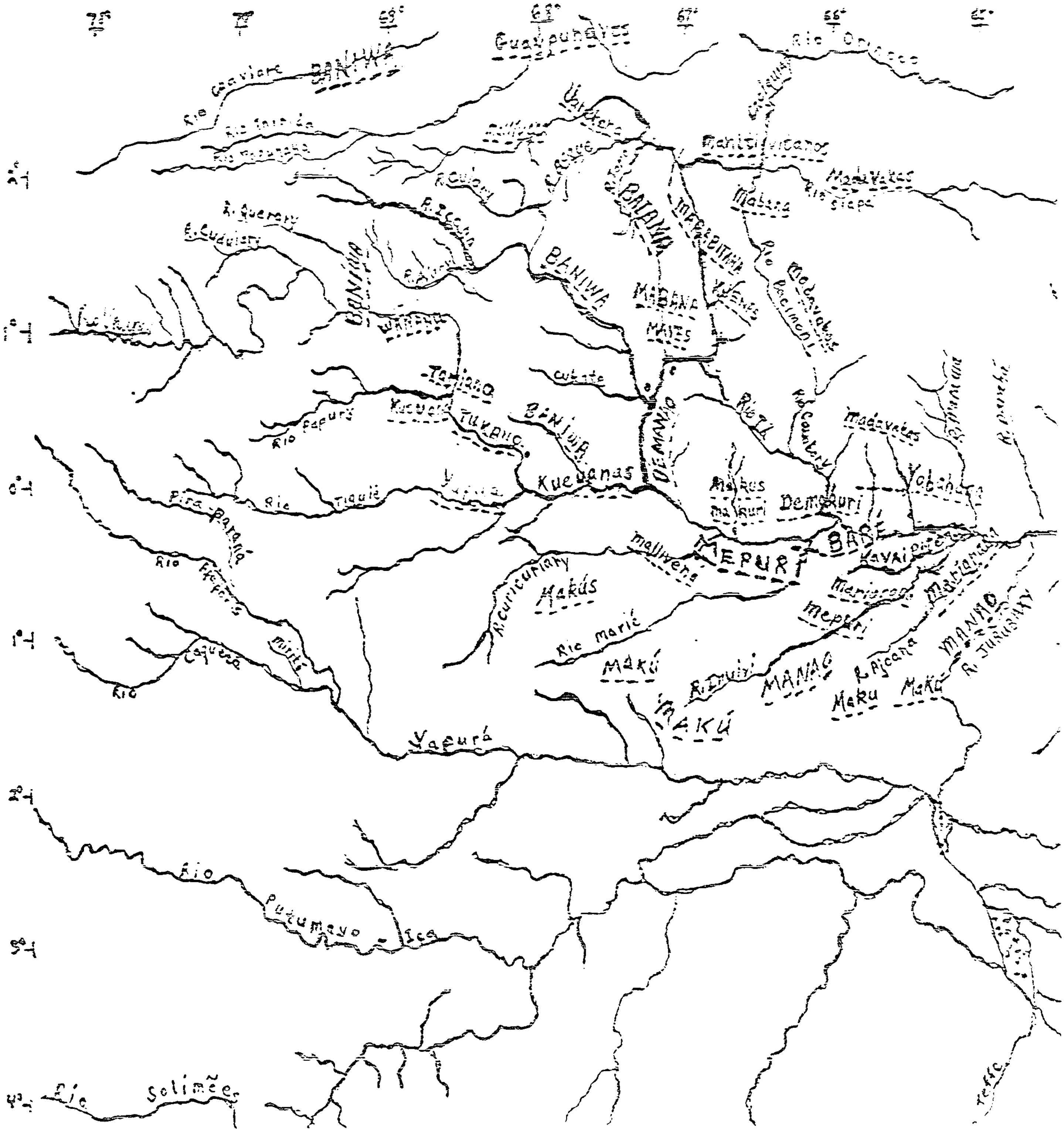
The official "end" of the slaving period came when three laws were issued in the mid-1750's, by the Marquis de Pombal (Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Marquis de Pombal, Prime Minister and Dictator of Portugal from 1750-77, was the step-brother of the Governor of the Captaincy of the Rio Negro, J.X. Mendonça Furtado). The three laws were aimed at transforming the havoc which the age of slaving had wreaked on the people of the Rio Negro, indeed all Indians of the Portuguese colonies. The first law of June 6, 1755, restored liberty to all Indians and freedom to their persons, goods and resources. The abuses of the official slaving policy would be ended. Indians could work as free wage laborers and would have the right to choose whom they would work for and the kind of labor they would do. Raids or wars conducted against Indians for the purpose of getting slaves were prohibited, as was, theoretically, any exploitation of the Indians.

The second edict was passed on April 4, 1755, and encouraged the intermarriage between whites and Indians. It discouraged any racial discrimination against the mixed-breed descendants of the marriages and, in fact, these descendants of mixed marriages would be eligible for government jobs and posts.

The final edict took the power for governing villages (aldeias) away from the missionaries and gave it to secular justices (Juizes). Missionaries could continue their evangelical work but under the separate Post of the Vicar General of the Rio Negro.

ETHNO-HISTORIC SKETCH MAP OF THE UPPER RIO NEGRO VALLEY IN THE MID-18TH CENTURY.

(Refer to NOTE, Following Page)


75°
71°
69°
68°
67°
66°
65°
2°
1°
0°
1°
2°
3°
4°
Guaypunaves
Rio Orinoco
Rio Gaviare
BANIWA
Rio Inirida
Uaupés
Casiquiari
Manitivitanos
Mabaca
Madavakas
Rio Siapa
R. Cuiari
R. Içana
R. Guerary
R. Cuduiary
BANIWA
BARAWA
MARAWITANA
BANIWA
WARENA
MABANA
MAIES
Rio Pacimoni
Tariana
Kueveka
Tukano
Rio Papury
BANIWA
cubate
DEMANAO
Rio Xié
Rio Cauabury
Madavakas
Yabahana
Kuevanas
Rio Tiquié
Rio Pira-Paraná
Makus
Makuri
Demakuri
BARÉ
Mepuri
Mabiwena
Kayaipotes
Rio Apaporis
Rio Curicuriary
Makús
Rio Marié
Mariaranas
Mepuri
Manao
R. Ajuana
MANAO
R. Jurubaxy
Rio Caquetá
Mirití
Yapurá
MAKÚ
R. Uneuixi
MAKÚ
Maku
Maku
Rio Putumayo
Iça
Rio Solimões
Tefé

NOTE: This map is an attempt to locate most of the peoples living in the Rio Negro valley up to the upper Orinoco in the mid-eighteenth Century. It is based on a few Portuguese documents written in the early 1750's and a few Spanish documents and maps from the 1750's and 1760's. My primary source was the report of the Jesuit missionary, Ignacio Szentmartonyi (see Appendix B.1.a, for a translation of the document from Latin). Szentmartonyi collected information from a number of knowledgeable sources while he was stationed in Barcellos (Mariua) in 1753. I compared his lists of people and locations with an "Anonymous" document written in 1755 (reprinted in RIHGB and in Mendonça, A Amazônia na Era Pombalina, vol. 2).

It is perhaps the only time period when an ethnohistoric map that is relatively speaking bare of Portuguese and Spanish settlements on the far upper Rio Negro can be made (compare with maps in the following section). On the other hand, remember that (1) slave troops had established their presence on the upper Rio Negro for about a generation and 1740-50 is a period of intensive warfare and slaving activity on the upper Orinoco; and (2) the region from the mouth of the Rio Negro to the last Portuguese settlement, already more than halfway up, had suffered severe depopulation as a result of wars of extermination, slaving and dislocation from 1720-40.

Aside from this, cautions should be exercised in the use of the map. There are many difficulties with it: (1) The locations of peoples given in the documents are by river or sections of rivers. In most instances, we have no more idea of settlements or numbers of them; (2) I have tried to locate those peoples for whom there is substantial agreement among several sources before and after this time that they existed, and agreements on their locations and names. The names of rivers, especially the smaller tributaries, and their locations was sometimes an insurmountable problem. I used official maps from several periods between the 1740's and the early twentieth Century. (Most of the early maps were in Nabuco's Atlas.) For several tributaries mentioned for the Rio Negro, however, I can make no placement at all. Compounding this problem is that of naming the peoples themselves, sometimes known simply by the names of the rivers on which they lived rather than the name by which they knew themselves. The "Iaminari" lived on the Ia River and "Iaminari" is an Arawak word meaning "Owners of the Ia." So we may conclude that they may have been Arawak, possibly Bare.

Another problem is that of the "Boapés" (Vaupés, Uaupés, Goapés, Uapé, Waypiss) people who live on the Vaupés River.

Bruzzi da Silva (1962: 29-30) suggests that they are Tukanoan people but from their stated location, between the Tiquie and Papuri Rivers, Boapés may also have been Tariana. The Tariana people had a legendary chief named Boapé, and very often, tribes were named for their chiefs.

Not all instances of people who lived on the Vaupés could be verified. "Chapuena" refers to many people living on the Cauaborí, Vaupés, Içana and Xié. Their name disappears from the record by the late eighteenth Century. Finally, Szentmartonyi and all other chroniclers recorded the names of only those people whom they knew about. Many other "unknown people" lived in the unexplored regions of the upper tributaries.

(For further discussion, please refer to Appendix B.1.a, "Introduction.")

II.B.2: Frontier Settlements and Dislocation of Peoples from the Backlands, 1761-98

> O que ainda agora succede; que os *descimentos*, que actualmente se praticáo, pela maior parte, são dos indios que não podem resistir aos seus inimigos. Cessou pois o furor daquellas guerras com a justa abolição da escravidão, e cessou aquella abundancia e numero de descimentos: Cessarão as frequentes e seguras entradas nos Sertões, e se extinguio um dos meios de os facilitar...
> Mas não he sómente esta a cauza de serem menos populosas as povoações do que no tempo das Missões. Depois da criada, estabelecida nella huma guarnição militar, fortificadas as fronteiras, tudo isto pede obras, diligencias, e expedições do Real Serviço; e tudo concorre para diminuição das aldeas dos Indios.... (Sampaio, F.X.R. de, "Appendice ao Diario da Viagem ... 1774-5)

For soldiers began there, those his children.
Today the soldiers live there now ...
Then all of them went below.
We, Hohodene, so it is they changed below into all
of the whites today. (Hohodene oral history)

Long ago, they made here,
This *quartel*.
Then they killed the elders,
And many people were taken away....
(Hohodene oral history)

From 1755 on, Governor Mendonça Furtado sought to introduce to the URN region the institutions of colonial government. Many of these institutions had been tested in the early colonial history of Pará and Maranhão. One important, new institution was created in 1758, however; the governing and administration of Indian villages was run by a system of Directors. These Directors were white military officers or non-military civilians (moradores) granted the title of Director. They were responsible for the conservation and augmentation of their villages which included: organizing collective gardens of cotton, indigo, coffee, etc.; directing commerce in spices or "drugs of the backlands" (drogas do sertão) such as cacao, puxiri and salsaparilha; and regulating the distribution of labor and Indians among villages according to the tasks required by the Royal Service. These tasks included building community houses and directors' homes. The mode of recruitment of Indians was by means of the descimento or "descent." In this system, Indians would be persuaded to descend the rivers, to settle permanently on the Rio Negro, and to accept European governance (Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, op. cit.: 87-8). Key elements in the system were the deterioration of the living circumstances of the Indians in question (due to war, disease, failure in supply of trade goods, etc.), the offer of a haven from whatever hardships were being experienced, together with a reliable source of trade goods, and the cooptation of chiefs as functionaries of the European labor system.

The usual procedure for making a descent would be the following: a site for a new village on the Rio Negro would be selected on the basis of military advantage or economic utility of the soil. The Portuguese were especially concerned with security along the borders of their territory. Hence, they hoped to create many villages near all possible points where the Spaniards might enter.

Once a site for a new village was determined, scouts were sent out in canoes manned by conscripted Indians, to find out where in the backlands there were Indians who could be persuaded to relocate. With the aid of an interpreter, the military officer would offer the village chief trade goods such as tobacco or fishhooks, in return for some spice. Thus would begin a friendly relationship.

The officer would have written previously to the Governor for the authorization of a descent; presumably the officer would have the paper in hand when he went to speak with the chief. The officer would continue the negotiations by offering other trade goods, in return for which the chief might agree to descend the river at a specified future date. Thus the descent would be formally arranged.

Then the matter became one of evacuating the people from their villages on the appointed date. There was no mandate for the chief to comply, and if the people wanted to come, it was supposed to be their decision. Once on the Rio Negro, if they decided not to stay, they were free to return home. There was to be no punishment inflicted on fugitives.

In fact, the system worked reasonably well in the first two decades of its operations. With the continued depletion of the population from the backlands, however, the soldiers were not reluctant to resort to violence or the early tactics which had been employed during the years of official slaving. The descimentos were very often temporary, as people brought in saw what they had gotten into and withdrew in short order. There was often an effort to make descimentos over long distances, in order to diminish the possibilities of running away and getting back home.

Border politics became such a great concern after 1760 that it is impossible to discuss the effects of the descimento system on native peoples without considering the Spanish role in creating settlements on the frontier, and the effects of various border incidents which depopulated the URN-upper Orinoco region. In 1756, the Spanish Commission of Limits embarked on a task of colonizing the territory of New Spain on the URN. They used a system to settle people in pueblos known as _reducciones_ (reductions). These reductions essentially brought together Indians of diverse nations, who were not at war, into single villages with populations from one to several hundred people. The village location was of the Spaniards' choosing and often was several days journey from the Indian villages or gardens. Recruitment was either by verbal persuasion or, more often, by "sacking" (_saques_) Indian villages of the backwater regions; captives were then taken back and resettled where the Spaniards chose. Capuchino missionaries would then begin the work of Christianization. In short, Indians were expected to become useful servants to the King; at the same time, they would be in a better position to protect themselves against the raiding Caribs and protect the Spaniards against the possible incursions of the Portuguese.

The first Spanish settlement on the upper Orinoco was San Fernando de Atabapo, at the confluence of the Atabapo, Guaviare and Inirida Rivers (established on August 21, 1758). By 1760, a total of six Spanish reductions had been formed. Well-known chiefs, such as Yavita, Cuseru, and Macapu, were settled together with fugitives from the Portuguese slavers (especially, remnants of the Manao, or renegades from the rebellions of 1757 on the Rio Negro). Two other important settlements were San Carlos and Don Francisco Solano located on the URN and Cassiquiare.

Cucui and five allied chiefs settled at San Carlos, along with twenty fugitives from the Portuguese (see Appendix B.1.b).

Around 1758-60, the Spaniards were convinced that their possessions on the URN extended as far down as the mouth of the Vaupés River, near the Rapids called Corocubi (later to be renamed São Gabriel da Cachoeira (see Population Chart, following page).[10] In August, 1759, the Spaniards sent Sergeant Francisco Bobadilha to inform the Portuguese of their presence. Along the way, Bobadilha recounts being received in four Marabitanas villages with extreme reserve. People such as Cucui had reason to believe that Bobadilha had come with military purposes. Later, Bobadilha left a detachment of soldiers very near a Marabitana settlement. Downriver at Corocubi Rapids, the Baré people were just beginning to construct a settlement on an island. They received Bobadilha "con armas en el mano" which he attributed to the fact that most Baré had been engaged in a drinking-party.

Once the Portuguese were informed of the Spanish presence, they decided to advance their plans for colonization in the URN. Since 1725, they reasoned, Portuguese had visited the URN and tributaries and the Spanish had no business establishing settlements below the Cassiquiare. In late May, 1761, a Captain José da Silva Delgado was sent from Barcellos to Corocubi. From then to the end of 1761, Delgado took possession of Baré and Marabitana land and longhouses on the URN. A military strong house was built on the island where the Baré had built their longhouses two years before. Baré and Marabitana settlements were then renamed with saint-names.[11]

Later, in 1762, a Portuguese Captain, acting on the

Native Population of the Upper Negro and Orinoco, Spanish Territory: 1759-68*

People	Locations	Chiefs	(If Resettled)
Daribítanas	Rios Siapá, Pamoni	Mará	San Carlos
Manitibítanas	Rio Bativa, Igarapé, Matuiti (URN)	Immu	Rio Ventuari, San Carlos
Marepítana (or Umarre-bítana)	URN (below Matuiti)	Cucui, Davipé	
Marepízana		Maroa	San Francisco Solano
Biaquena	URN	Damara	
Deemanaus	Maboabí, Caba (URN)		
Baniva/ Baniba	Içana, Xié and far URN	Cunaguari, Daricauaná	
Puxirinavi and Peecinavi	Upper Xié	Teyú	
Cuevanas	Vaupés River		
Guapes	Vaupés River		
Puinaves	Tomo, Acque Rivers		
Guasiriennes	Tomo and Acque		
Aaquinavis	Acque		
Guaypunaves	URN around Rio Temi and Caño Pimichin		
Davinavis	(same)		
Uerabaquinavis (same as Uerequena? Oalipere-dakenai?)	(same)		Many resettled at San Fernando de Atabapo

---

*Principal source: Estado Actual... (see Appendix B.1.b., for translation of selected passages).

Governor's orders, despatched a dozen or more soldiers to two Marabitanas villages, whose chiefs were named Clavina and Dauêma. Apparently, the move was made to test the Spaniards' reaction. The Spaniards informed the Portuguese that they were about to construct new forts; but as soon as the Spaniards were caught off guard, the Portuguese called for new detachments of soldiers to occupy Marabitanas villages. The Spanish sergeant Bobadilha returned to speak with the Portuguese, whereupon the Portuguese ordered the Spaniards out of Portuguese territory. Bobadilha complied and from then on, the territory remained in the possession of the Portuguese.

Not long afterwards, the Portuguese decided to move the Marabitanas and Baré from their villages further downstream. Under the Director system, they were to be put to work, as it turned out, under a very oppressive Portuguese Director. Consequently, nearly all Marabitana and Baré who inhabited the upper Rio Negro fled for the Spanish colony, "tão repentinamente que ainda ficaram algums que se achavão pelas suas rossas" (Mello de Castro-JXMF, 12 março, 1763, Pará. In Nabuco, Lim. I, Mem. Bres. Ann. II, 87-8). The Marabitana had essentially been dispossessed of their land and villages.

In order for there to be an Indian population on the banks of the Rio Negro which would work to sustain the military, the Portuguese had to seek out the Baré and the Baniwa. In other words, as a result of the flight of the Marabitana, the way was open to persuade the people of the Içana, the Vaupés and Xié to descend the river to the new URN Portuguese forts. Portuguese military colonization of the frontier continued in 1764, when a detachment was sent to the rapids of Ipanoré, on the lower Vaupés River.

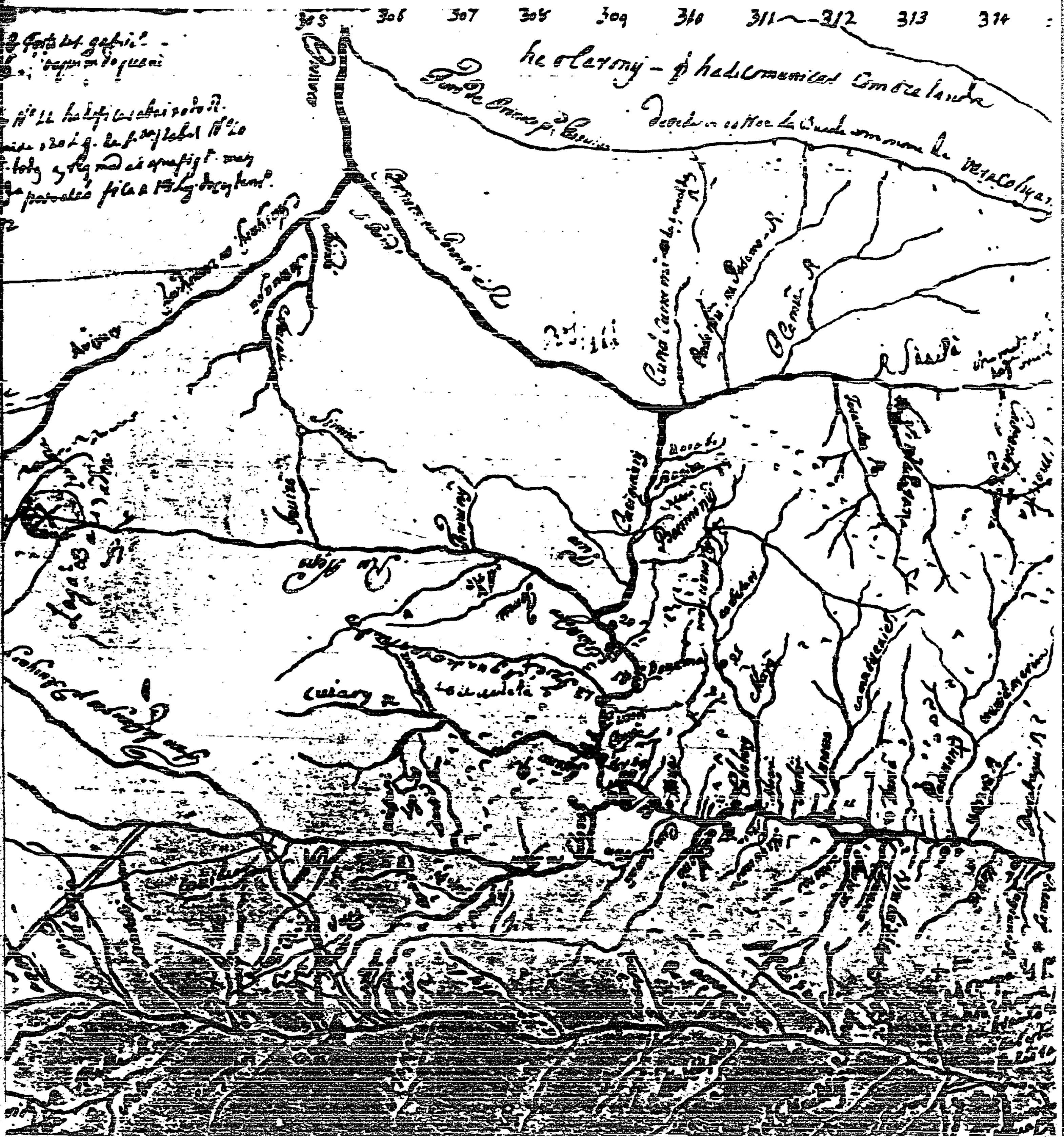
The purpose of sending the soldiers there was partly as protection against the entry of the Spaniards on the Vaupés. Also, Ipanoré Rapids, a location of Tariana longhouses, could be used as a location to aggregate people from the upper Vaupés. From the Rapids to the mouth of the Vaupés, the Portuguese envisioned that they could make a great concentration of people (Noronha, "Synopse de Algumas Noticias...." 22 outubro, 1764. Ms. in Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro).

In the early years of the military presence at São Gabriel and Marabitanas, reconnaisance expeditions were sent to the Vaupés, Içana and smaller tributaries. The region and the people became known to the Portuguese officials in ways unlike the previous two decades. By mid-1760's, the region was already known and mapped, as the first sketch map of the URN shows (see following page).[12]

The Içana River had been explored past the great rapids at Tunui. It was known that above the rapids, the river branched in several directions: to the north, there were connections with tributaries of the Rio Negro; to the south, there was a lake the Portuguese called Lago Unibuni. The other tributaries known on the Içana were: Cubaticuni (modern-day Cubate), Amanari (Piraiuara), Mabuiaua (Papunaua), and Cuiary (Cuiary).

The Portuguese sources state that the Içana River population was very mixed. The following list is compiled from the early 1760 sources and shows the populations reported on the Içana, Vaupés and Xié (Noronha, 1768. In Nabuco Lim. I, Mem. Bres. Ann. II: 186-9).

MAP _ : Section of a sketch-map, dated "about 1775", of the principal Portuguese settlements on the upper Rio Negro (from slightly above Barcellos and up) at this time. (Title of the map is "Carte des Etablissements Portugais du Rio Negro vers 1775" and is found in Nabuco, 1903: Atlas. The settlements shown here are numbered 7-21, the list appearing in footnote 12 of this section.) The Içana and several tributaries are shown in the lower middle of the map, the area of the "Cuiary River" and "Unibuni Lago" which is very probably one of the large river-lakes (Tucunaré Lago ?) near the mouth of the Aiary River.



1760 Population on Vaupés, Içana and Xié[13]

Icana

Baniba

Tumayari (modern-day Tumi-eni, a sib related to Oalipere-dakenai)

Turumari (modern-day Karutana?)

Deçana (modern-day Dessana)

Puetana (modern-day Puinave?)

Uerequena (modern-day Uerequena)

"Others"

Xié

Baniba

Chapuena (Abuena?)

Uerequena

Mendó (Meicánas)

"Others"

Vaupés

Uaupé (Tucano or Tariano)

Tariano

Cocuana (Kuevana)

Quererui (Dwellers of the Querary River?)

Uanana

Cubeuana (Cubeo)

Burenari (Möle-dakénai?)

Mamanga (?)

Panenua (Hehénawa? or Paneroá)

Paruncia (?)

"Many others"

Throughout the 1760's, Baniwa and all other people of the URN had to reckon with the direct and continuous presence of the military, whose main purpose was to persuade the native populations to descend to the Rio Negro villages.[14] Some areas of the Rio Negro Valley were virtually relocated by hard-working military officials conducting descimentos. For instance, when the Portuguese were concerned with the presence of the Spanish on the upper Rio Branco, they evacuated nearly all of the Indian population there and resettled them near the new Fort of São Joaquim. Another major set of descents affected the people of the Japurá River in the early 1780's. This relocation had devastating effects on the population of the Rio Negro, but before considering these effects, comparison must be made of the population figures for various Rio Negro villages from 1760-86 (see Population Tables, following page).

Comparing the figures for 1773-4 during which there was a major relocation of Baniwa, in nine villages, and the same villages a decade later, there is a definite loss in population. Several explanations for the loss may be offered. The first is that all people were transferred temporarily to the lower Rio Negro. Thus, the villages of the lower Rio Negro were being replenished while the upper tributaries were being depopulated. There are two other very probable explanations to consider, however: the effects of epidemics on the village populations; and the resistance of the Indians to being resettled and their subsequent "desertion" from the mainstream villages into the forests.

From 1785 on, the Spanish and Portuguese governments made systematic efforts to demarcate the frontier areas; the Portuguese were concentrating great efforts on the URN while the Spaniards were trying to gain territory on the upper Solimões, near the mouth of the Javary. The Governor of the Portuguese colony was very concerned with Spanish intrusions and control over the Indian population. Then, in 1783, a major epidemic broke out around the Apaporis River. Documents state that the effects of this epidemic were utterly devastating. Probably, the epidemic spread northeast to the Vaupés River, or southwest to the Japurá River (Doc. 27, in "Officios de Fernando da Costa de Ataide Teive...", in Lata 356, IHGB, RJ. Also, "Officios de João Pereira Caldas, 1780-6", Lata 356).

In 1783, the Brazilian naturalist and traveller Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira was commissioned by the

Population Tables (Portuguese Settlements): 1760-86

(Places where Baniwa are located are marked with asterisk*)

Place	1760's Population	1773-4	1785-6
São Joaquim de Cuanné	780	257	-
São Miguel do Iparaná (Içana River)*	800		0
Nossa Senhora de Guia*	600	185	87-91
Santa Izabel da Rainha	400	110	-
São Miguel do Rio Negro		156	153
São Felippe*		188	17-23
Sta. Anna*		241	0
São João Baptista do Mabé*		100	43-44
São José do Marabitanas		190	165-206
São Gabriel da Cachoeira		104	226
São Marcellino*			65 (reduced in 1786 to 26)

Sources: The few population figures for the 1760 settlements are from the Diccionario Topographico, Historico, Descriptivo do Comarca do Alto Amazonas by Araujo e Amazonas (Recife, 1852). They seem to be high, but not implausible, numbers for the 1760's.

For 1774-5, the source is "Mappa dos Indios, Fogos, e de Todas as Mais Circunstancias que a respeito de cada Villa e lugar dos Indios observou o Intendente Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio" in Sampaio Appendix ao Diario da Viagem ... fez o Ouvidor e Intendente Geral ... 1774-5. op. cit.

For 1785-6, two tables were included in Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira's "Diario da Viagem Philosophica..." tomo 48, 1889: 109, 216-7.

Governor of Pará to write about the state of commerce and economy of the Captaincy of the Rio Negro. Ferreira travelled to the headwaters of the Rio Negro in 1785-6 and visited the Içana and Vaupés Rivers. Ferreira wrote brief town histories for each Rio Negro settlement, and included much useful information on sickness and disease on the Rio Negro.

Ferreira states that in 1762, for example, the populous village of Thomar on the lower Rio Negro suffered from the devastating effects of a measles epidemic (*ARF*, tomo 48: 30). From 1763-72, measles and variola plagued the population of the middle Rio Negro. In 1776, two other epidemics were reported, affecting every village on the middle Rio Negro.

When the military began to move to the far URN and to relocate people suffering from sickness from the Japurá to the Rio Negro, they brought sick people into an already infected area. The results were immediate and predictable: the Vaupés and Içana populations in 1785 were struck hard with measles, variola and tertian fevers.

It is difficult to imagine what the effects of the epidemic must have been like. Yet in 1786, Ferreira wrote while visiting São Gabriel da Cachoeira:

> Até Outubro do ano passado experimentarão estes e as outras povoações subalternas consideraveis deserções de indios empregados nos reconnecimentos do Uaupés: contarão-se 641 ausentes: tanto foi o horror que conceberão as sezões d'aquelle rio! (*ARF*, tomo 50: 191)

The military expeditions to which Ferreira is referring have to do with the reconnaissance and mapping of the URN region in the early-to-mid 1780's, a large scale endeavor conducted by Coronel Manuel de Gama, Lobo d'Almada. Clearly, as the military entered the area, and as they brought the people of the Japurá to the URN, then the epidemics broke.

The "horror" of the epidemics, one can imagine, spread like destructive fire. On the Içana River, Ferreira went up as far as Tunui Rapids, but he was forced to return because of "fevers common to the river":

> I mean repeated shivering, nausea, and frequent attempts to vomit, daily headaches, the pulse almost always weak and a spontaneous laxity. (ARF, tomo 50: 191)

As soon as a sickness struck a village on the main banks of the Rio Negro, most everyone could be expected to flee. They could have retired to the forest off the Içana River, but there the contagious diseases no doubt killed hundreds. As Rodrigues Ferreira travelled up the Içana, he remembered seeing only "small houses" (tijupares), on the hills on either side of the lower Içana. Or, he saw "abandoned villages" (taperas), with "most frequent signs of mocambos of deserted Indians" (Ibid.: 190). But there were no people on either side of the Içana River: they had either been made to descend the river, had fled to the forest, or had died from the epidemics!

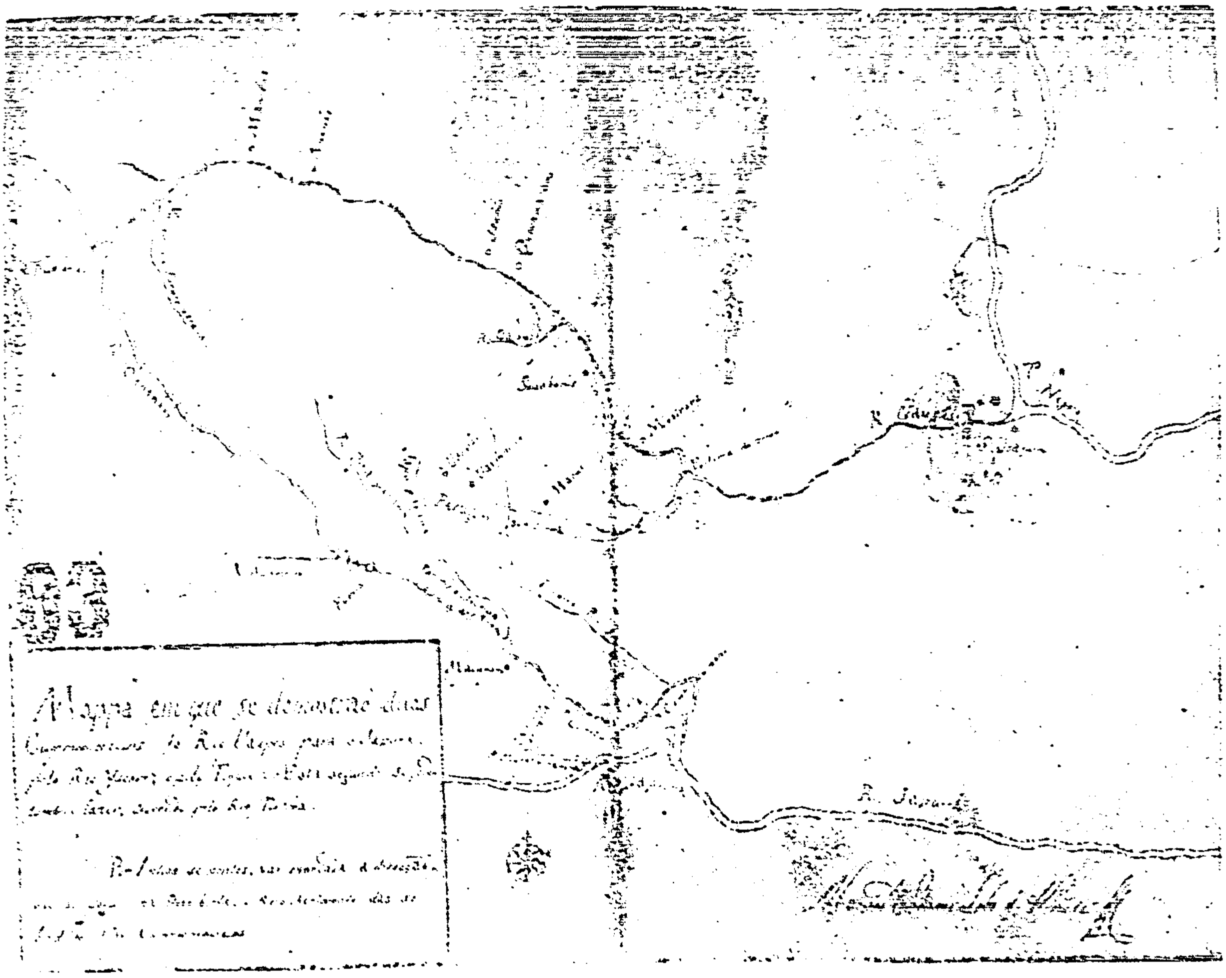
For the Baniwa who survived the epidemics, there were other effects which could be felt years after the epidemics had passed. For instance, sterility has been reported among other native populations who survive smallpox epidemics, such as the Achagua people who suffered epidemics in the 1740's (R. and N. Morey, 1973: 238). Hohodene oral histories state that they suffered from an epidemic in their past. After it struck, many people fled up the Rio Negro. Later, the people returned but Hohodene women could not bear children any longer.

Population losses on the Vaupés River may similarly have been great. The maps prepared by Manuel da Gama Lobo d'Almada show in detail villages he encountered on the Vaupés and Japurá Rivers. On the Vaupés, there are approximately ten settlements from the mouth to the headwaters (see Map on the following page). If this is any real indication of the total number of settlements on the Vaupés, the population must have suffered similar losses from the epidemics and descimentos.[15]

Lobo d'Almada's map of the Portuguese settlements on the Upper Rio Negro also shows that there were eighteen settlements over a very small section of the river. The population for these eighteen settlements was not more than 2250, but most of the Indian population in these settlements were people relocated from the Japurá (population figures derived from ARF, reference following Appendix B.3).

The second explanation for the population losses noted over the years is resistance to serving the white people, particularly military. My arguments are based on what I have been able to extrapolate from bits and pieces of evidence in the documents. To a certain extent, they are also grounded in my knowledge and understanding of the contemporary people of the Upper Rio Negro. First of all, memories of the devastation which the tropas de resgate had wreaked on the Upper Rio Negro gave people every reason to believe that the new presence of the military might do the same damage. They would not be so easily removed, even with persuasion of the military, because the white man had already become an enemy.

People of the Upper Rio Negro were understandably reluctant to accept a status of permanent servitude to the whites and dependence on their goods. They knew that


Mappa em que se demonstrão duas
R. Japurá

LOBO D'ALMADA'S MAP SHOWING CONNECTIONS OF THE VAUPÉS AND JAPURÁ RIVERS.

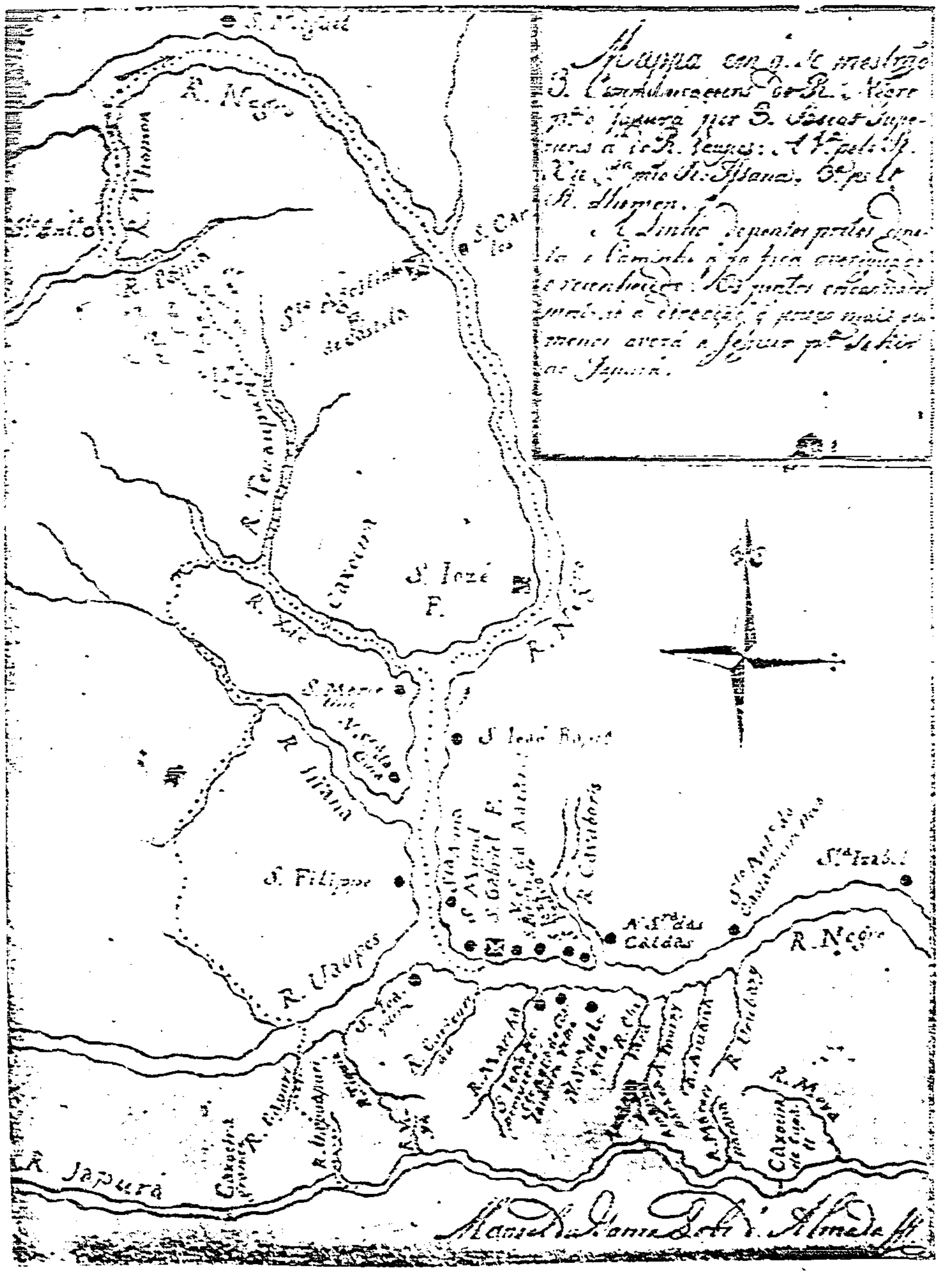
the remuneration they would receive for hard labor would be minimal. They knew that to live on the Rio Negro would mean accepting a life where they would not enjoy the prosperity and well-being of the environments to which they were well-adapted. In essence, they would be accepting a single mode of adaptation--servitude to the white people.

They would be stripped of cultural differences among different tribes and placed into the same category of "servant to the white man." Rather than suffer this humiliating deculturation, and see the symbols of their viable way of life thrown away as useless in the white man's world, people refused to descend the river.

There was also the Indians' attachment to ancestral land, territory, and villages which would be ruptured by being relocated. The white man had no understanding of what this attachment could mean nor how peoples' fundamental thinking could be so grounded in their ancestors' ways of life. With all of this, it still must be accepted that the Indians were downright eager to enter into the status of dependence on their goods.

There are frequent mentions in the documents of the early 1780's of "desertions." In 1782 and 1783, for instance, there appears to have been a general "desertion" from many settlements on the lower Vaupés. In early 1784, a third of the Baniwa population located at Guia (near the Içana River mouth) "deserted for the woods," apparently encouraged to do so by the son of a chief (ARF, tomo 50: 192). Still other instances can be given.

The military reaction to these "desertions" was to change their tactics for negotiating descents. Recruitments were desparately needed, so when people showed reluctance to being persuaded, soldiers illegally resorted to heavy-


R. Negro
S. Carlos
S. José F.
R. Xie
Caxoeira
S. Marcelino
R. Içana
S. Filippe
R. Uaupés
N. Sra das Caldas
Sta Izabel
R. Negro
R. Japurá
Manoel da Gama Lobo d'Almada fez

LOBO D'ALMADA"S MAP OF THE UPPER RIO NEGRO, 1787.

handed tactics.

One officer, Sergeant Miguel Archanjo, who had almost singlehandedly relocated the people of the upper Rio Branco, was sent to the Upper Rio Negro in 1786. He impressed twelve Indian canoemen from the Xié River and attempted to negotiate a descent of Baniwa. The Baniwa had survived the ransom troops but had been heavily hit by the epidemics and descents. They were understandably reluctant to descend with Miguel Archanjo. They turned the officer back with bows and arrows, and if the following account is true, Archanjo displayed brute military force against the Baniwa in 1787:

> The savages of this river are powerful and warlike. In 1787, the Queen's sergeant Miguel Archanjo went there to capture savages, to carry out what was known at the time as a "descimento." He was accompanied by thirty soldiers armed with powder and shot, and thirty Indians bearing ropes. They surprised an Indian village, and when the men escaped, they tied up the women and set off with them on the return voyage. The Indians attacked and attempted to ram them on the way; and had it not been for the speed with which they travelled in their light canoes, they would have lost not only their captives but weapons, supplies, and their very lives as well. From this one may infer that the /Baniwa/ are as warlike as any other people, when there is someone to lead them, and above all when there is justice in their cause. (Conego Andre de Souza, Vicar of São Gabriel from late 1780's-1790's, RIHGB, vol. 10, 1830: 468, sect. 174)

The author, André Fernandes de Sousa was, in fact, a harsh critic of the Descimento system; and he suggests that this and other cases show its "evils."[16]

In sum, there is reason to believe that very few Baniwa remained on the Upper Rio Negro by the end of the eighteenth Century. The Hohodene remember a time in their past when, they say, there were no more people on the Içana or its tributaries. People had been killed by the whites, removed to the Rio Negro, or they had fled into the woods. People were "almost finished off," and this is a theme which recurs in all Baniwa oral histories and in many myths. The late 1780's-early 1790's was one such time when the Baniwa as a people almost did not survive.

The Baniwa who were taken to the Rio Negro by the military were expected to adapt their lives to the demands of the colonists for labor. They were expected to work wherever the need was greatest, and in the early years of the colonies, they could be shifted at a moment's notice. They were expected to transform their beliefs and submit to Christianity. This was as true for the Spanish colonies as it was for the Portuguese.

In the following section, these patterns of colonial domination in labor and religion will be explored in more depth from the 1760's to the turn of the Century. I wish to focus more attention on the interplay of settlers', missionaries' and military interests, programs and demands on the Indians. Up to this point, I have concentrated largely on the effects of the troops on Baniwa, and have only mentioned in passing the roles of missionaries and settlers. To a certain extent, this was an accurate picture of the dominant colonial forces operating in the region at the time. It does not mean, however, that the interests of the military operated to the exclusion of others nor that they coincided with missionary and settler interests. On the contrary, they often conflicted. We had occasion to note this in Frei Andre Fernandes de Sousa's criticism of the military descimentos. In many instances, given the choice between living under the direction of the military or under the protection of the missionaries, the Indian people often preferred the missionaries. But there were few missionaries to go around and many Indians found no other solution but to become engaged in the economic development programs imposed by the military and implemented by settlers. And, if the missionaries proved to be repressive, Indians were quick to seek refuge in inaccessible areas of the forest or mountains. Thus the Indian people were adopting new strategies to deal with the diverse interests and demands of settlers, military and missionaries. These strategies were essential for survival.

II.B.3: Missionaries and Economic Development of the Upper Rio Negro and Upper Orinoco

A decade after the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil, the Spanish King took the same action against the Society of Jesus in the Spanish provinces. They were replaced in 1767 by Capuchino monks of Catalan and Andalusia, along with their brethren Franciscan friars. The Capuchinos of Andalusia were given charge of missionizing a huge territory of the upper Orinoco to its headwaters, including several Spanish settlements on the Upper Rio Negro. (Please refer to "Section of von Humboldt's Map of 1826," following page, section demarcated by I.) The Capuchinos may have only visited the villages from time to time, and probably were not residents in any single one (Humboldt, 1907: 267). However, they did collect and organize Tables of population figures for a total of thirty villages within their parish. (These figures are dated 1767-73 and are found included in Appendix B.3.)

The figures show that there were approximately three thousand people in the parish. This figure includes Spanish officials and other white people settled at the forts. It represents a significant decline of the population on the upper Orinoco. This decline continued until the end of the eighteenth Century. The towns at the very border of Spanish territory (such as San Carlos, San Francisco Solano, San Phelipe, and San Miguel) accounted for about one-third of the entire population in the Capuchino territory.

In comparison with the work of the Capuchinos, the

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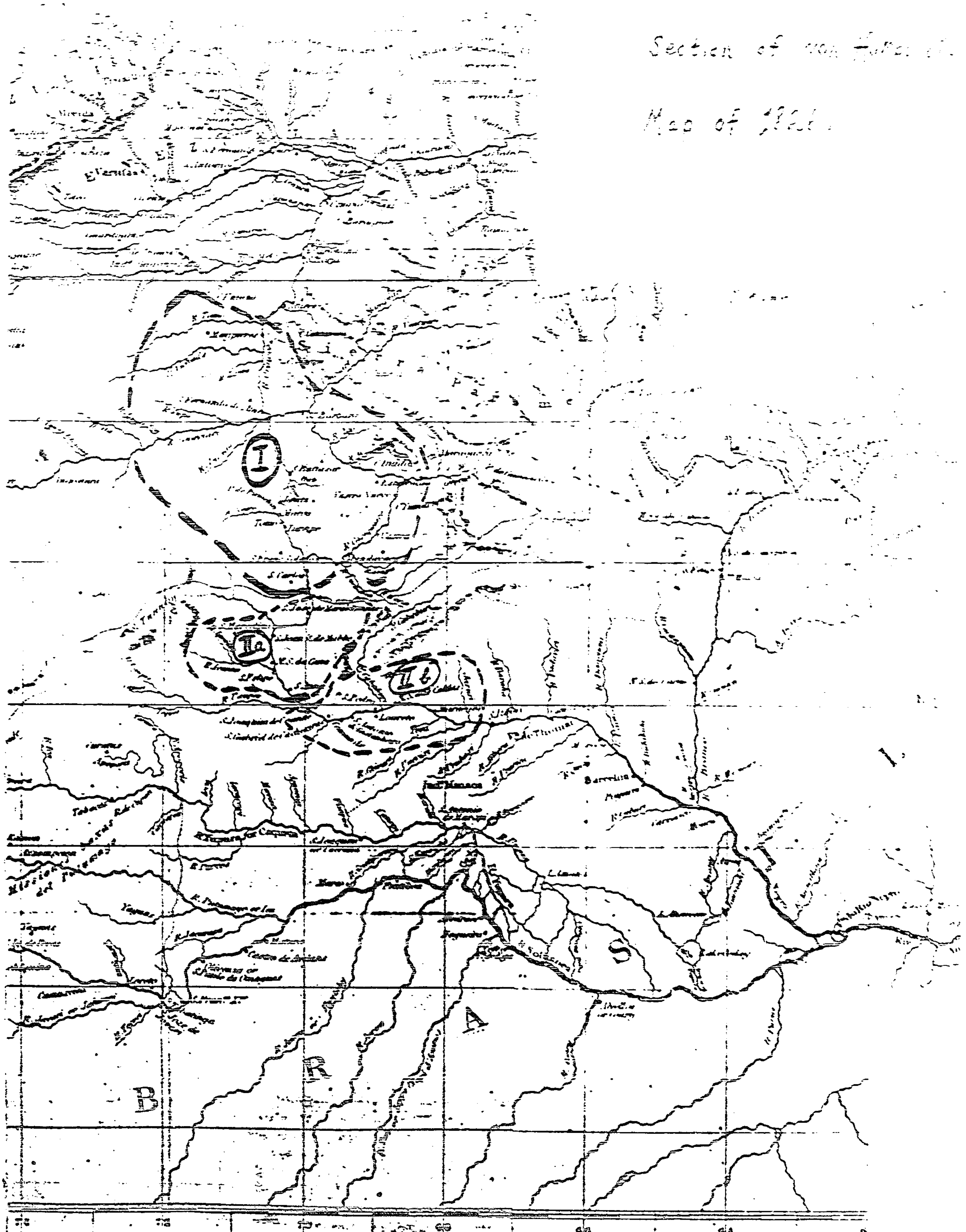
Map of [illegible].


I
IIa
IIb
S. Carlos
R. Yupura ó Caqueta
R. Putumayo ó Iça
Barcelos
B
R
A
S

Spanish military seemed to exercise far greater influence over the population from the time of the Royal Expedition in the late 1750's until the mid-1780's. The military formed new colonies on the banks of the Guainía and upper Orinoco, frequently recruiting native peoples from the many tributaries (Tomo, Pimichin, Ianá, and others). They continued to conduct incursions into Brazilian territory until the 1780's, when the troops of Lobo d'Almada kept a close watch on the border.

The military conceived of grandiose projects to develop the region. For instance, with the aid of the Maquiritare people, the military set up strong houses along a road which connected the upper with the lower Orinoco (Humboldt, 1907: 466). This novel project lasted until about 1776 when, as Humboldt recounts, the soldiers committed "all kinds of abuses on the natives who had cultivated pieces of ground around the strong houses" (Ibid.). The military thus provoked resistance on the part of allied tribes who "attacked on the same night along a line of nearly fifty leagues in length." The strong houses were burned and were never made again. Clearly, the military schemes depended on the maintenance of friendly, cordial relations with the natives.

The Royal Expedition introduced to the upper Orinoco and Rio Negro livestock and crops which had previously proven to be successful enterprises in the Jesuit missions. The livestock included several hundred head of cattle and horses. Crops included beans, maize, fruit-trees and legumes. Indigo and cacao were also cultivated.

Great numbers of Indians were needed to work in each of the villages. In the larger villages of the Capuchino territory, about one-fourth of the populations were considered laborers; San Carlos and San Francisco Solano, for instance, had the greatest number of laborers. Besides tilling the gardens and tending the herds, laborers worked on the construction of the forts, military buildings and mission houses. They were needed for the transport of military officers, who frequently travelled on the Rio Negro for official visits or for trade with the Portuguese. From 1767 on, a regular communication was kept up between the forts of the URN and Angostura on the Upper Guaviare River, to trade for salt and to collect the soldiers' pay (Humboldt, 1907: 429).

Until 1785, Royal Commissioners acted as the agents of secular government on the upper Orinoco. Capuchinos seemed to have almost nothing to do with the missions. The Commissioners managed the Royal Farms along with the soldiers, and it appears that the projects of economic development which had been initiated in the previous decade then suffered near total failure. Writing in the late eighteenth Century, the scientific traveller Alexandre von Humboldt described how the military and the Commissioners killed off the cattle for the sake of selling the hides or did not take care of the remaining herds, such that most perished from starvation (Humboldt, 1907: 267). Crops were neglected because the laborers and dwellers fled to their homes. Only a few dozen soldiers remained at the forts by 1785. All that they managed to do was to persuade a few natives to descend from the backwater regions to populate a few new villages such as Maroa (begun in 1775 on the URN), Tomo, San Miguel de Davipe and others. Baniwa were settled at Maroa and a previously unknown but numerous people called "Cheruvichahenas," who lived on the Tomo River, were settled at Solano.[17]

Many fugitives from the Portuguese military-run villages came to settle at the missions of Maroa, Tomo and

San Carlos. It is possible that during the Portuguese descimentos of the mid-1780's and the evacuation of people from the Japurá, fugitive Indians came to settle at the Spanish missions:

> The military are in greater numbers on the banks of the Rio Negro than on those of the Orinoco, owing to the necessity of guarding the frontiers; and wherever soldiers and monks dispute for power over the Indians, the latter are more attached to the monks. (Ibid.: 390-1)

It is entirely possible that Baniwa from the Içana River might have migrated to these Spanish settlements or to other refuge regions in Spanish territory.

Franciscan friars replaced the Capuchinos on the upper Orinoco/URN in the mid-1780's. In their programs, the Franciscans sought to revitalize the failing missions, introduce order and regimen to the farms, exploit efficiently the natural resources, and work seriously at the Christianization of the native population.

Boatbuilding became one of the first and most important industries which the Franciscans encouraged on the upper Orinoco, particularly around the village of Yavita. The vicinity is rich in the kinds of trees (sassafras, yellow wood) used in boatbuilding, and soon the industry spread to the URN settlements of Maroa, Davipe and San Carlos. Boatbuilding became one of the dominant kinds of labor in which native peoples were engaged for centuries to come, and one of the most important for the development of commerce between the Spanish and Portuguese colonies.

The Franciscans encouraged other forms of industry, especially the extraction and collection of tree resins, balsam, aromatic gums, and oils. Pitch was especially a useful product for canoe repairs. The forests were also rich in puxiri (Aerodiclidium puchury major Mart), a medicinal plant, and salsaparilha (Petroselinum saturum Hoffm.), much used as a spice, for tea and medicinal purposes. Cacao had been found around the Cassiquiare, and missionaries tried to cultivate it around the missions of the caño Pimichin near the Tomo and Acque Rivers.

The Franciscans exploited the Indians' technology in collecting turtle-eggs, the oil of which could be processed into turtle-butter or oil for burning lamps and cooking. In a description of turtle-egg collecting around the mission of Uarana, Humboldt recounts:

> When the camp is formed, the missionary of Uarana names his lieutenant or Comissary who divides the ground where the eggs are found into different portions, according to the number of Indian tribes who take part in the gathering. (189)

The friars were heavy-handed in the tasks of Christianization, and systematic in the changes they tried to introduce. They began religious instruction, instruction in the Spanish language, and conducted daily services in newly-constructed chapels. They quickly saw that the authority of the elders over the tribe was very great and sought by whatever means to undermine it. They were not remiss in chastising natives who proved to be reluctant converts (Humboldt, 1907: 218).

They saw that religious education could best be done on the young men and women, but what held them back, the monks believed, was the teachings of the tribal elders. One Franciscan, Ramon Bueno, who worked among the Maypure people at the turn of the Century, stated that the Baniwas were "like the Maypure" in culture and society. Many of the Baniwas already spoke Spanish and were friendly to the Spanish, but Bueno believed they were still under "the example of the elders ... who confuse and destroy the good regimen and governing" (Bueno, 1965: 141). Bueno's imperious solution was to flout the authority of the elders:

> Si estos se separasen de la comunion de los muchachos, sin duda tendria el Soberano unos vassallos los mas utiles y racionales entre los indios. (Ibid)

The Franciscans, however, understood that as yet their Christian God was little competition for the deity "Catrimani" or "Iolokiamo" which were represented in the sacred flutes and trumpets. One Indian of the Inirida River explained to a Franciscan that: "Your God keeps himself shut up in a house, as if he were old and infirm; ours is in the forest, in the fields and in the mountains of Sipapa, whence the rains come" (Humboldt, 1907: 362). The cults seemed to flourish around the confluence of the Tomo and the Guainia, where many tribes surrounding that area practiced their sacred rites.

The missionaries attempted to reduce the cults to a "principle of evil," and then tried to destroy the evil. One Franciscan recounted a story to Humboldt:

> Father Zea recounted to us with a smile that the Indians of Tomo and Maroa had been one day in full insurrection because an attempt was made to force them to dance the famous "dance of the devils." A missionary had taken a fancy to have the ceremonies by which the piaches /shamans/ evoke the evil spirit Iolokiamo represented in a burlesque manner, to prove to the neophytes that Iolokiamo had no longer any power over them.
>
> Some young Indians, confiding in the promises of the missionary, consented to act the devils and were already decorated with black and yellow plumes and jaguar-skins with long sweeping tails.
>
> The Church was surrounded by soldiers to add more effect to the counsel of the monks, and those Indians who were not entirely satisfied with the consequences of the dance and impotency of the evil spirit were brought to the festivity.
>
> The oldest and most timid of the Indians imbued all the others with a superstitious dread; all resolved to flee al monte and the missionary adjourned his project of turning into derision the demon of the natives. (Humboldt, 1810: 385)

A new phase in colonial domination had been initiated among peoples of the upper Orinoco-URN, but over time the Franciscans were forced to modify their techniques and demands in order to respect the strength which native religion offered to the people. Franciscan missions would have failed completely if they tried to do otherwise, for they depended on the Indians' remaining in the villages in order to sustain their work. Similarly, the Indians received the missionaries with mixed emotion: they would be instructed and protected from the arbitrary military, but they expected a source of goods also to come from the relationship.

In the Portuguese Captaincy of the Rio Negro, a few priests worked from 1770-90 in the capitol village of Barcellos and at the forts of São Gabriel and São José de Marabitanas. Until 1774, São Gabriel and Marabitanas were administered by a single vicar, and then the Vicar General of the Rio Negro decreed that the Upper Rio Negro would be divided into two parishes. The first was at São Gabriel and the second at Marabitanas (see Map by Humboldt, p. above, sections marked IIa and IIb). People of the Vaupés were included in the São Gabriel parish while Baniwa of the Içana were part of the Marabitanas parish.

Comparatively speaking, São Gabriel had far more of an air of prosperity than Marabitanas, throughout the late eighteenth Century. São Gabriel had a very large church, richly endowed with ornaments and priests' garments, statues and liturgical instruments. The house of the vicar was well-kept. At Marabitanas, the vicar visited infrequently, and the priests' garments were never protected from rot, heat or rain (ARF, tomo 49: 102-3, 202). The house of the vicar was in such bad shape that the vicar had to dwell with the soldiers whenever he visited (Ibid. 203).

It is also true that several tribes of the Northwest very much wanted priests to come to preach to them and to baptize their children. For instance, a chief of the Macuna people in 1785 was persuaded by the military to relocate to the Rio Negro. The chief told the military that it was perfectly acceptable to move, but on condition that a vicar would be sent to baptize their children and to instruct them, "as they much desired and not a few times had requested" (*ABP*, tomo 49: 70).

Later, in 1792-3, the parish priest of São Gabriel, André Fernandes de Sousa, negotiated with a Tariana chief named Calisto to make a descimento of Tariana, Tucano and Pira-tapuya. The people made a settlement on a large island above the Rapids of Ipanoré on the Vaupés River. In the following year, de Sousa conducted masses in the new chapel and baptized over 250 children. By 1795, a total of 669 people had been baptized in two visits (including elderly people who came from long distances) (de Sousa, 1830: 465-6). The mission continued until de Sousa transferred his work to Thomar; no one afterwards visited the mission.

The urgent requests for priests to administer baptisms might be interpreted as follows: Indians would be protected from sicknesses which living with the white man had brought them. Priests, being the religious specialists of the white man, presumably had the remedies and knew the appropriate rituals to be performed. Like shamans, they would be treated with great respect, if they protected people from ailments. Furthermore, priests lived with people and in the late eighteenth Century, they were not known for the unpredictable violence which so often characterized the military's relations with the Indians.

There is no indication that Christian *faith* had been systematically introduced on the far URN by the end of the eighteenth Century. But it is clear that processes of syncretism in Christian practice were set in motion. Both native religion and folk Catholicism were beginning to mix together, finding grounds of commonality. De Sousa mentions in a lengthy discussion that native dances were mixing with mission-introduced festivals of *tambores* (drums) and *sairés* ("cestas de cipó," used for carrying images of the saints); and the shamans' practice of blowing protective smoke (tobacco) over patients was rapidly being adopted by white people in the region (Ibid.: 487+).[18]

During the administrations of Governors João Pereira Caldas (1779-88) and Manuel da Gama, Lobo d'Almada (1788-99), the Captaincy of the Rio Negro witnessed a tremendous but brief period of development, prosperity and flourishing in the economy. Basically, these Governors tried to emphasize several forms of production: small holdings where crops introduced by the Governors, such as indigo, cotton, cacao, beans, maize and white rice were cultivated; intensive cultivation of *farinha de mandioca* to support the settlements on the Rio Negro; and manufacture of goods such as hammocks, pottery, canoes, etc.

Indian labor was the *sine qua non* of all forms of production, above all in the extraction of spices. "These spices included fine cloves and thick cloves, woods of the most varied types, oleginous seeds, cinchona, pixurim, casca preciosa, vanilla, annetto fruit, sarsaparilha, cocoa, cinnamon, carajuru, ... " (A.C.F. Reis, in Wagley, 1974: 34). In the far URN region, the most important of the spices were salsaparilha and pixurim (an important medicinal plant), piaçaba (vines for broom manufacture), and guaraná, the fruit of which makes a refreshing and medicinal drink. The most important of the species of woods was rose wood (Imbira-piranga, in lingua geral) and the principal source of rose wood was around the mouth of the Içana River. (Below, I list the important spices and woods collected from the URN region in the 1780's.)

The Governor's role in the extractive industry was, on the one hand, to reap the benefits of the growing commerce in spices, and on the other, to regulate the exploitation of the forest, preventing the extractive industry from indiscriminately destroying species. Lobo d'Almada especially seems to have been the first conservationist, and tried to ensure that extraction would not result in destruction (ARF, tomo 49: 160-1).

Backland Drugs, Woods, and Animal Products Obtained from the Far URN Region

Product	Sources
Salsaparilha	Rios Aiary, Vaupés, Içana, Cauaboris
Pixurim	Içana, Xié, various tributaries of middle Rio Negro
Guaraná	Içana, Xié, Vaupés, Rio Negro around São Gabriel
Carajurú (red dye)	Vaupés
Carurú (salt)	Vaupés
Umiri	Içana
Rose-wood	Içana and far URN
Piaçaba	Xié
Turtle eggs	Lower Vaupés, Cubate River (tributary of Içana)
Fish	Far URN, near Marabitanas

(ARF, tomo 48-9)

The small holding system sought to mobilize and direct Indian labor in the intensive production of a few cash crops. A series of regulations promulgated in 1776 governed how the directors were supposed to run the small holding system. Briefly, these regulations were as follows: (1) Plantations would be made on appropriate soil near villages and worked according to a reasonable schedule; (2) Indian laborers would be divided into two or three parties who would then work communal gardens on a rotating basis. On their off-weeks, they would work on particular family gardens; (3) the directors were expected to assist in obtaining food and sustenance for the workers, hiring fishers, hunters for this end; (4) there would be overseers in each of the villages, in charge of keeping vigilance on the workers and acting as intermediaries between the workers and the directors; (5-6) records would be kept with detailed figures on the quantities of drogas collected, all products of communal work, the salaries of Indian laborers, and all expenses of production; (7) any money left over after expenses would be put into a fund for the repair of churches, obtaining liturgical vestments, or remedies; (8-9) the same directives would apply to olarias and other communal services, and the directors should execute orders with "honor, zeal and action" ("Instrucções que regulão o methodo por que os directores ... se devem conduzir no modo de fazer as sementeiras e plantações ... " 28 junho, 1776, in ARF, tomo 48: 176-9).

In ideal circumstances, this system could prove to be very efficient and quite fruitful for the organization of productive plantations, particularly when it was coupled with productive crops such as indigo, coffee or cotton. In its application on the URN, the system indeed had a great impact, as we shall presently discuss.

In 1783-4, Manuel da Gama, Lobo d'Almada first introduced the cultivation of indigo to the far URN (A.C.F. Reis, 1931: 134; ARF, tomo 48: 114-42). It was at first tremendously successful. After a little over a decade, the total export of indigo was over 1400 arrobas (about twenty two tons, A.C.F. Reis, 1931: 134). Rodrigues Ferreira aptly stated in 1786:

> There is not on this entire river another plant that is so well received as this one and once born, it goes on reproducing with such permanency as never to extinguish.... (ARF, tomo 48: 124)

All the Rio Negro settlements where the Baniwa lived in this decade cultivated indigo. While the villages of the lower Rio Negro produced massive quantities of indigo, the villages of the far URN produced the "finest quality" indigo in the entire region. At São Marcellino, at the mouth of the Xié River, the director kept the Baniwa and Uarequena producing indigo at a rate of twenty one to twenty two pounds each month (Ibid.: 194). Every surrounding village had communal gardens of indigo and manioc. An indigo mill was started at São Gabriel in 1784, and by the end of 1785, after several experiments in improving techniques of processing indigo, the production went into full swing. Plans were made to import more seeds, increase the size of gardens, and import laborers from other places (ARF, tomo 48: 117-30).

Manioc was produced in large quantities for export, for the sustenance of plantation workers, or for the military at the forts. One large plantation was located at Lamalonga and produced some thirteen tons of farinha in the year 1785-6 (ARF, tomo 48: 49). The Upper Rio Negro between Santa Izabel and São Gabriel had appearances of one large farinha factory: "some private gardens were more populated with Indians and houses" than villages (Ibid.: 87). Farinha de mandioca, in fact, was one of the principal crops for export for more than a century afterwards. A great many other products of cultivation have come and gone in the economic history of the URN but farinha de mandioca has nearly always been the principal product of the men and women on the far Upper Rio Negro. It has always been in demand in the capitol villas of the province and state; unquestionably, the Indian people above São Gabriel are still among the principal producers in all the Northwest Amazon region.

These several modes of production which we have just described, required a substantial labor force to maintain. Bear in mind, too, that the military in 1785-6 made demands on the male labor force in the expeditions to demarcate the borders. Also, in 1785-6, epidemics struck the far URN region. With all of these events, the exploitation of Indian labor spread itself far too thin and the result was, predictably, the incipience of failure. Rodrigues Ferreira saw clearly that labor shortage was the principal problem of the colony; too much was required of too few in terms of human resources. Ferreira states that there were a series of "causes" behind the labor shortage: (1) the need for more black slaves to be introduced was not being met; (2) the military expeditions placed heavy demands on the labor force; (3) a let-up in the descimentos; (4) epidemics of yellow fever and measles (ARF, tomo 49: 47).

Perhaps another reason for the economic failure of the mid-1780's was that a shift of the population downstream occurred in 1790. For reasons of convenience, Governor Lobo d'Almada decided to transfer the seat of the capitol from Barcellos to Barra (present-day Manaus). In 1786, Barcellos had close to 1100 population; by 1795, only a few hundred remained. Barra had a few hundred in 1787; in 1795, there were roughly 3000. (According to de Souza, there were upwards of 8000; ARF, tomo 48: 109; A.C.F. Reis, 1931: 137; de Sousa, 1848: 451 *et passim*.) The effect of this decision was to require all the population of the URN to relocate downriver. By 1795, about six of the villas around São Gabriel became totally deserted as the populations had been moved downstream (Camundé, São Miguel, Sta. Barbara, Camanau, São José, Maçarabí, and Caldas on the Cauabory River; Baniwa lived at most of these villas).

On the lower Rio Negro, there was a flourishing of culture, from 1790-8:

> Agriculture includes indigo, cotton, rice, cocoa, coffee and tobacco.... Six mills are distributed in Barra, Barcellos, Carvoeiro, Moura, Curiana and Loreto, where they weave cloth of cotton, whose excess of consumption in the Captaincy, is exported to Pará. A rope-factory in Thomar wove cables of Piaçaba. In Barra, a factory of wax, collected on the Solimões, made candles for the churches of the Captaincy, and a brick factory supplied bricks to many villages. In three farms, on the Rio Branco, cattle was raised ... In Barra, a naval arsenal was maintained in activity. Commerce ascended in grand scale ... The treasury of the Captaincy paid all their employees ... The arts received a proportional impulse, above all music.... (Araujo e Amazonas, Dicc. Top. da Comarca do Alto Amazonas, cited in "Posse e Dominio do Rio Negro," in Nabuco, 1907: 89)

At the turn of the century, however, political upheavals in Pará, changes in the administration, and corrupt officials led to severe disorder in the Captaincy. Lobo d'Almada became the object of attack from political opponents. His administration ended as corrupt officials entered. Abuses of Indians working on the Royal Farms became a problem. Through the early 1800's, the colony then suffered from endemic "decadence."

We could advance a hypothesis at this time that whenever such periods of "decadence" emerge in Rio Negro history, they mean that the Baniwa and other people of the far URN are, for the most part, left alone to recoup from the white man's projects. Baniwa had come to know the white man by the end of the eighteenth Century as someone to work for, and who would order them to work. The white man was someone whose religious beliefs and views of the world, and of the relationship to the resources in the environment were profoundly different from their own. Baniwa had barely survived the late eighteenth Century contacts. With the "decadence" of the Portuguese and the Spanish colonies, at the turn of the Century, Baniwa returned to their traditional homelands on the Içana River and sought to rebuild their society.

Endnotes

[1] The documentary sources for the eighteenth Century are: Padre Juan Rivero, writing in the early eighteenth Century, 1956: 37; Padre I. Szentmartonyi, document written in mid-eighteenth Century, the text of which is included in Appendix B; also a Spanish military document, "Estado Actual..." written in the 1760's, also included in Appendix B.

[2] The only ethnographer who ever described this art was Koch-Grünberg in the early 1900's. See especially Koch-Grünberg, 1967: Book II. Little of this art has survived to the present day, however, because it has been almost completely replaced by aluminum products.

[3] My reference is to a report written in the 1770's by the governor of the Captaincy of the Rio Negro, Joaquim Tinoco Valente. The manuscript of the document is found in the Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. I do not have a complete title of the document. The information I am citing is found on leaf 11 of the document. The British scientist/traveller A.R. Wallace noted that the same trade network for quartz pendants operated in the mid-nineteenth Century (1853: 192).

[4] As far away as the Solimões River, the Jesuit Father Samuel Fritz, in the late seventeenth Century, was told about sacred flutes and rituals where people were whipped. These rituals he took to be the presence and manifestation of the Devil in the Amazon.

[5] For a history of the sixteenth and seventeenth Century colonization campaigns along the Amazon and Orinoco, the reader must refer to D. Sweet (1974), R. and N. Morey (1973), A.C.F. Reis (1931) and J. Hemmings (1977). The main source I have relied on for this section has been Sweet, particularly vol. II, Chapters 9-12 and most appendices. I have benefited greatly from many fruitful discussions with Dr. Sweet. The other works cited may be consulted for a broader perspective.

[6] After the wars, large numbers of Manao were driven to seek protection with the Carmelite missionaries. One of the principal mission locations was Mariuá (modern-day Barcellos). Mariuá was the largest settlement on the Rio Negro and the location of the largest slave camp (see,

for instance, the drawing of Mariuá in Mendonça, *A Amazônia na Era Pombalina*. In the late 1720's and early 1730's, Mariuá was settled by Manao under a chief named Camandri, an enterprising collaborator in the slave-trade. Other mission locations on the Rio Negro were Dari (later known as Lamalonga) and Bararoa, under the chief Caboquena. Baré and Baniwa later came to settle with Manao at Mariuá and Dari (Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, tomo 49: 185). Probably this descent and re-settlement of Baniwa occured in the late 1730's and early 1740's, and was negotiated by missionaries and slavers.

[7] A reasonable guess for the leader of the troops is Francisco Xavier Mendes de Moraes, brother of Belchior Mendes de Moraes who led the war against the Manao.

[8] Father Roman was on the upper Orinoco in 1744 establishing a mission with the Guaypunave people. From 1734 to the early 1740's, Roman had established missions in several locations on the upper Orinoco. Possibly because the missions were concerned with the Carib slaving activities, Roman decided to investigate. When he arrived, a Guaypunave chief named *Macapu* led a part of his people to the banks of the Atabapo River. When Roman arrived, the chief requested the protection of the missions (Humboldt, 1907: 331, 426-7).

[9] For a more complete rendering of these important events, the following sources may be consulted: (1) A.C.F. Reis, *Limites e Demarcações*, tomo II; (2) Demetrio Ramos Perez, "El Tratado de Limites de 1750 y la Expedicion de Iturriaga al Orinoco," Madrid, 1946; (3) Rodolfo Garcia, "Documentos sobre o Tratado de 1750," in *Anais de Biblioteca Nacional*, tomos 52-3.

[10] Several reports by Spanish officials in this time and maps indicate as much: one brief report written on August 12th, 1759, is by Sergeant Francisco Bobadilha, entitled "Diario subciso y observaciones del Sargento Bovadilha, embiado por la Real Expedicion de Limites Espanolas...." The document is found in the Biblioteca Publica at Evora. I am grateful to D. Sweet for allowing me the use of the microfilm.

[11] Delgado claims he had built three new villages, at the mouth of the Xié River (named São João Baptista do Mabé), the Vaupés River (Santa Isabel) and the Rio Mariah (Santo Antonio). Four villages around the Rapids of Corocubi were

renamed. The populations of these villages included: Mepuri, Baré, Kuevana, Tucano, and Baniwa people.

[12]The settlements listed on the map by numbers correspond with the following names: (1) Fort of the Rio Negro; (2) Ayrão; (3) Moura; (4) Carvoeiro; (5) Poyares; (6) Barcellos (formerly Mariuá); (7) Moreira; (8) Thomar; (9) Lamalonga; (10) Santa Izabel; (11) Santo Antonio do Castanheiro Velho; (12) São João Nepomuceno de Camundé; (13) São Bernardo; (14) Fortaleza de São Gabriel; (15) São Joaquim de Cuanné; (16) Nossa Senhora de Guia (across from it is São Miguel de Iparaná, not numbered on the map); (17) "Betura" (later, São João Baptista); (18) São José de Marabitanas; (19) San Agostinho (first village of the Spanish); (20) San Carlos (principal fort of the Spaniards); (21) Nossa Senhora de Carmo das Caldas (on the upper Cauabory River).

This map contains essentially the same information as a report written in 1768 by the first Vicar of the Rio Negro at Barcellos, Father José Monteiro de Noronha (Roteiro da Viagem ... no anno de 1768; Para, 1862). In fact, this map is identical in most respects with a sketch-map of the Rio Negro made by Padre Noronha in 1764. This sketch-map is included in the document, "Synopse de Algumas Noticias Geographicas para o conhecimento dos Rios,... " 1764, 22 outubro. Ms. in Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

[13]Comparing with the maps and lists of people for the 1740-50's, the following observations can be made: (1) Baniwa are not mentioned by name as living on the lower Vaupés; (2) Deçana have moved to the Içana River, as have the Puetana; (3) The Mendós on the Xié probably migrated from the Vaupés; (4) The Burenari may be a relative of the Hohodene known as Möle-dakénai, because of phonetic alternation in the names. Bruzzi da Silva suggests that they are Dzuremen. While this is plausible, there is a greater likelihood that they were Möle-dakénai.

[14]Some indication of the descents of Baniwa is given by the Table, "Partial Statistical Summary ... " (see Appendix B.3). It is enormously faulty and full of gaps, but it must be assumed that during the years not reported, the military were continuing the descents. From the Table, it becomes clear that for certain years in the thirty-year period covered, descents particularly affected the Baniwa: 1761, the early 1770's, and throughout the 1780's.

[15] There is one Baniwa settlement noted in d'Almada's map on the far upper Vaupés, around Jurupary Rapids, across from a stream which Lobo d'Almada called "The Stream of the Palisaded Fence" (Igarapé de Caiçara). Lobo d'Almada explains that he left a detachment of his soldiers there while exploring the upper Vaupés. When the soldiers abandoned the stream, however, they left all their little huts standing (Lobo d'Almada-Pereira Caldas, 31 Out. 1786, Barcellos; in A.C.F. Reis, Lobo d'Almada ... : 108, Doc. XXXV).

[16] "Parece que se tem mostrado devidamente com estes factos a facilidade dos descimentos de gentios por meio das dadivas e persuasões brandas e pacificas; comparando ao mesmo tempo com o odioso plano dos governadores do Rio Negro desde o anno de 1785, adoptado por Manoel da Gama, e imitado pelos successores até agora, de facilitar as agarrações de gentios e venda d'elles como escravos. A execução d'este odioso plano, sabido e conhecido de todos no Rio Negro, não só é taxado de despotica pelos sensatos, senão cruel e tyrannica. Com effeito é de admirar que hajam homens que queiram sacrificar, contra toda a intenção dos soberanos, gente innocente, e obrigar a ser escravos povos pacificos, dignos de ser livres, e arrancal-os dos seus lares, aonde a Povidencia os fez nascer: nascidos livres e independentes, tendo recebido da natureza as faculdades proprias para preencherem o seu destino, são reduzidos a escravos no seu mesmo paiz!! ...

221 Principiaram estas agarrações na parte superior do Rio Negro pelo capitão de 1ª linha Marcellino José Cordeiro, em tempo que governava Manoel da Gama. Este mandava tropa ao mato, munida de polvora e bala, com que fazia estragos aos gentios, e trazia muitos centos para trabalharem nas fabricas que n'esse tempo se instituiram. Comra este attentado reclamou o tenente coronel Wilkens, ainda commissario da quarta partida das demarcações em Ega, como invenção contrarias ás soberanas intenções de Sua Magestade. Ao que se lhe respondeu--que o gentio não queria sahir do mato, e que as dadivas eram precisas para outracousa. Depois continuou o sargento Migeul Archanjo, de quem já acima fizemos menção, com as agarrações no Jupurá, até á sua morte. E o que se segue d'aqui? Que proveito se tira? Morrem ás duzias á necessidade, e de terra com desgosto. Outros, apenas têm opportunidade, se entranham nos matos sem apparecerem mais, servindo

> ainda de fazerem odioso ao gentio o nome dos brancos, com a desagradavel noticia que lhe annunciam da sua deshumanidade. Suffoque-se esta cruel invenção, novamente descoberta, que tem o infeliz segredo de bloquear e illudir o espirito do soberano. (RIHGB, 10, 1830: 468, sect. 174)

[17] The identity of the "Cheruvichahenas" remains a mystery. Humboldt met a few at Solano who may have been from the Tomo River, and who were once neighbors of the Baniwa. They were supposed to practice "anthropophagy" and "in the eyes of the Indians of the Guainia [Xié River], the Cheruvichahena was a being entirely different from himself and one whom he thought it no more unjust to kill than the jaguars of the forest." [!] (Humboldt, 1907: 415)

[18] De Sousa proposed a theory about native religion which stated that native religion could be understood because it was founded on ancient ties with Hebraic religion. De Sousa proposed that the evidence for this connection was the following: (1) the practice of "circumcision" was widespread among the tribes, as was the seclusion at first menstruation rites; (2) the Uarequena people who lived on the Xié River had Hebraic-sounding names. De Sousa reasoned that since names were transmitted from ancestors to descendants, then the similarity of Uarequena names to Hebraic names meant that the Uarequena "belonged to a Hebraic tribe with some mixture of other Oriental nations." (Ibid.: 497-8)

A difference existed, however, because Hebrews had many food taboos while the Indians ate snakes, frogs, crocodiles, lizards, etc. When the Hebrews first migrated to the South American continent, de Sousa reasoned, they were so hungry that they ate whatever they could and passed their habits on to their descendants!

Once again, another outside observer's potentially useful understanding of native religion was utterly distorted by a theory! De Sousa might have mentioned that the Uarequena were enslaved and missionized by the Carmelites in the first half of the eighteenth Century.

PART II.C: CREATION OF A NEW SOCIETY

C.1: Festivals of Exchange among Baniwa of the Icana River

In Part II.B.2, the argument was made that there were possibilities for considering a major Hohodene oral history as referring to the time of the Portuguese descimentos of the late eighteenth Century (especially around 1787-95). This oral history will be presented in three parts in this thesis: the first part is found in II.D.2 below, the third is in II.D.3, and the second is included as the main subject of the present section.

To summarize the arguments for the correlation of documents and the oral history, the columns on the following pages represent the pro's and con's of two time periods to which the oral history could plausibly refer. (For further explanation of this argument, the reader is urged to refer to Endnote 1 , on page 176 .)

Hohodene Oral History: Story Summary and Dating

Story Summary, Part I (for complete version, see II.D.2):

A great war took place on the far upper Vaupés River, involving a "police force" from São Gabriel against the Möle-dakénai people. The Möle-dakénai were exterminated and Hohodene were taken as prisoners to the Rio Negro. They stayed at São Miguel (above São Gabriel), Carmo (on the Cauabory River) and Barcellos. A Hohodene ancestor, named Keroaminali, and other sib chiefs fled Barcellos and returned to the Içana River, although the children of the ancestor either stayed in Barcellos or had a sickness and fled to the Spaniards of New Spain.

Arguments for:

1787-90	1852/3
1) See II.B.2	1) See II.D.2
2) Descimentos were not always conducted on a peaceful basis.	
3) The three villages *were* important locations for descimentos from 1774-90; after 1795, the three villages were largely depopulated.	

Arguments against:

1) More documentary evidence is needed that a war *was* conducted against Möle-dakénai in the late eighteenth Century.	1) The three villages were "ghost towns" in the early 1850's; no reason to take large numbers of prisoners to live there.

There is a third alternative: the oral history merges the events from two time periods together. If this is the case, then certain elements in the story belong to one or the other of the two time periods, and it becomes a matter of deciding how they do. I have found that this question is one of the most difficult and thorny to resolve, and have not succeeded in convincing myself that the tradition does *not* fuse the two time periods. I cannot be convinced that the later time period makes *complete* sense of the story, but the third alternative nevertheless exists.

Story Summary. Part II

The Hohodene ancestor chief lived in hiding with two other sib chiefs. There were other people who wandered about the region, raiding for captives to take back to their villages to eat in cannibalistic feasts. Then, the Oalipere-dakenai decided to abandon their war-making and offer the Hohodene a wife. The alliance was made with some difficulty, but from that day forwards, neither sib made war against each other. The sibs celebrated the alliance with a large-scale dance festival at Tucano-point on the Içana River. During the fest, many affines came and danced with painted and decorated dance-tubes, while the sacred flutes (Kuai) were taken in the dance-house. Strong sugar-cane beer was given to the participants to drink. Despite a challenge by the Oalipere that the Hohodene would not last through the night, the chief outlasts everyone. Thus his power and fame are affirmed.

Later, a second dance-festival is held at the Hohodene village. The Oalipere then ask the Hohodene to live on their land, for Oalipere no longer had any productive land on which to make gardens. It had finished, people were no longer able to bear hunger and were in danger of dying off. The Hohodene agree to return to their traditional land on the Quiary River, a tributary of the lower Aiary.

The Hohodene and Oalipere have many children, who eventually grow up to adulthood. These children make other settlements on the banks of the Quiary, perhaps five settlements in all, descending the river as they continue to grow in number. Many years pass; the old man Keroaminali dies; his children live on for a long time after.

Arguments for:

Turn of the Century

1) The willing abandonment of war-making probably took place after the Portuguese military ceased to have direct involvement in the region at the turn of the Century.
2) Ceremonials to renew social alliances are very much in tune with a time following the greatest social disruption.
3) Time passages noted at the end of Part II suggest that

1856-8

1) Tucano-point, the Oalipere village, was a reported location of millenarian activity and large-scale festivals, in 1857. By 1858, Tucano-point had been abandoned. Hunger and famine were key problems to which millenarian activities were directed.

more than one generation may have passed before the following episode.

Arguments against:

??	1) There is no direct mention of the messiahs by name in the oral history, which one would expect. 2) There is no mention of any military or merchants in the oral history at this point, whereas in the documents of this time, it is clear that they were extremely influential

Story Summary. Part III (for complete version, see II.D.3):

A caboclo merchant lives for awhile with Oalipere-dakenai, making canoes. One day, he began to tell the Oalipere and Hohodene to move to the Rio Negro because the Içana River and Aiary were extremely poor. He showed them how to throw away their war instruments, and then he told all the people to make farinha de mandioca and to follow him to São Gabriel. The Hohodene met in council at the mouth of the Quiary River. They remembered the pain that their ancestors had suffered, that they had once been nearly all finished off. Because of this, most of them decided not to go with the white man. Instead, the Hohodene sib parted ways, settling on the banks of the Aiary and two tributaries, and the Quiary River. They lived on again for a long time.

Arguments for:

1856-8	1876-80
1) The caboclo merchant was named Francisco Gonçalves Pinto who lived for years in a Oalipere village on the Içana, making canoes, from 1846-59. Pinto was an ally of the Brazilian military; in the late 1850's, the military of São Gabriel and Marabitanas were recruiting Baniwa as laborers for public	1) The merchant may have been a rubber-gatherer trying to contract Baniwa as laborers to work on the Rio Negro.

service works, and demanding farinha de mandioca. In 1856-8, Pinto tried to negotiate with Hohodene to move to São Gabriel but they refused; in fact, openly rebelled against the merchants and military at this time.

Arguments against:

??	Nothing supports it.

(End, Part II)

Sequence of Events in Oral History =	Preferred Chronological Time
Hohodene, Möle-dakenai war with White People and other tribes	Late 1780's
Extermination of Möle-dakenai; forced relocation of Hohodene to Rio Negro (with stops in São Miguel, Carmo, Barcellos)	
Flight of Hohodene and kin from Barcellos to the Içana River; living in hiding	1790's
"Other people" raiding for Captives	
Oalipere-dakenai abandon war-making and decide to initiate alliance with Hohodene	Early 1800's
Large-scale dance festival at Tucano Point, to celebrate Hohodene/Oalipere alliance	
Return festival at Hohodene village; Oalipere request division of land with Hohodene; Hohodene relocate to headwaters of Quiary River	
Two generations or more pass as Hohodene populate the Quiary and grow in number	1840's
Hohodene chief dies	
A Baré merchant lives awhile with Oalipere-dakenai; one day he begins to persuade Oalipere and Hohodene to relocate to Rio Negro with him	1850's 1857-8
Entire Hohodene sib meets in council at the mouth of the Quiary River; decision not to follow the merchant; Baré moves to São Gabriel; Hohodene resettle on the banks of the Aiary River and two tributaries	1858-60
Long time passes until the present	

Another argument for dating the oral history is the ages of the principal narrators. Hohodene narrators often traced their ancestry to the principal character of the oral history, the chief Keroaminali, or to one of the children of the chief. In one instance, the narrator was an elder (now deceased), aged about 80 in 1976, who stated that the ancestral chief lived not so long ago and that the story took place "almost yesterday," almost in the time of the narrator's own proper grandparents. Calculating by the age of the narrator and by a generation time of twenty years, we arrive at the following:

1976 (time of narration)
- 80 (approximate age of narrator)
1894
- 40 (two generations)
1854 (narrator's grandparents' time, *exact*)

If the ancestral chief had lived in 1854, then the narrator's own father might have even known the chief as an old man, which did not seem likely.

A better hypothesis can be sustained for the 1780's-1858 correlation. Part II of the oral history, which will be interpreted in this section, should thus refer to a time of renewal of the Hohodene and Baniwa, following the period of descimentos, roughly around the turn of the Century (1800-15). No white people are mentioned in this section of the oral history which fits with the fact that whites generally left Baniwa alone during this time. Only after 1830-40, did white people (military, merchants and missionaries) enter the URN region as they had in the late eighteenth Century.

The second section of the Hohodene oral history will now be presented, following which an interpretation of the events will be undertaken. In brief review of the events which conclude the first section, the Hohodene chief

Keroaminali lived awhile with the chief of the Kadapolithana sib, named Balento, in a forest village at the headwaters of the stream immediately below Tunui Rapids. The settlement was well-protected from invasion by outsiders, surrounded by a fence of poison-darts. Keroaminali lived in isolation from the Içana River, without a wife, for his first wife had been taken to the Rio Negro; and without children, for his children had fled to the Spanish settlements. Keroaminali was "single" (Kainudeetsa), "danced alone," and "unique" (Paita-tsa).

Story of Keroaminali, Ancestor of the Hohodene, Part II.

(Narrated by the Hohodene elder Keroami, with occasional comments in parentheses by his step-son Felipe)

On...
After a round,
Another people made war.
They captured
They killed people.
They *ate* them at their place.
Another time they captured, wherever they went they killed.
They *ate* people!
Only one was left!
With a happy heart did they finish off!
PUUUUHH !!!
Over there was another Jaguar-people chief,
At the Aiary headwaters,
Waaro, his name.
Then Keroaminali returned,
Retuu--urned,
They heard about him those Oalipere-dakenai,
"Single is our ally-to-be,
"Let's go, we offer him a wife," they say about him.
(They heard of his fame) They heard of his fame.
They were abandoning war.
They went back, she the woman, her father, her mother, her,
There! To Uwatalimam.
To our ancestor they called out at the settlement: "BEEEYY HEEEYY !!"
He, didn't take away the fence of wood around, the fence of poison-darts,
The poison-dart fence.
"Hey, here am I. Hey, you lie, you come to kill me. Go away from me" he says.

"You come to kill me, the only Hohodene chief?" he says
"Hey, we come to give you our daughter," he says.
30 "No" he says.
"Don't shoot me, Keroamina, don't kill me with that venom"
He called and approached...
Until almost Noon!
He calls out...
35 Then she came forward, she his wife,
She calls out...
"I want to enter with my daughter for you..."
"I want to enter"
Her daughter and she come ... 'til nearby. "Here am I" she says, "I want to stay with you" she says, "You see she carries a hammock and all, you see me" she says.
40 "Here am I who stays, you stay with me, you live well with me" she says,
"Here is my daughter" but he doesn't receive them.
"One of your kin-to-be, not to kill ... NO-One here who will!!"
FAUUU !!!
"You lie, you won't kill me!!" he says, Keroaminali, and opens the House-door:
45 Tsulahh!
Fiooh! He shoots them a poison-dart!
"Put aside those darts!! Don't shoot me!!" Says he, "Don't kill me!!" Says this Oalipere-dakenai.
"Nooo, do not kill" she says, "Where is your hammock?" she says.
She goes in and sits, "Here is my daughter" she says,
50 She gets the hammock, she ties up the hammock, "Good I am!!"
She gets some drink and she gives to him...
On....
They talk about it, the chiefs,
That's all, they speak on it...
55 Then... they prepare cane beer with Thurua leaves, they say, in that time, thurua leaves (thurua) thurua.

Well the sweetness is taken from it!
They got food, *pacu* fish.
On...
With her father,
Thus all day long they speak.
She is his wife, this day she is his wife.
They go and sit speaking on it,
He comes back a little bit drunk,
With *strength* he comes back!
Until morning...!
"Thus it is" he says, "I don't want to kill anyone"
One moon he stays, he says.
He is not an elder
NOT an elder! A YOUTH he is!!
Not an elder.
Five of his children stayed and changed below
Into soldiers there, below.
Then this Palento, this Kadapolithana,
Went to Barcellos
Soldiers began there, those his children.
These days now, soldiers live there.
"Hoooo Already they have changed" they say, "Into those soldiers"
Then they went, all of them, below, all of them,
Of us, we Hohodene, thus it is they changed into white people below today, all of them today,
Only one remained of us
Keroaminali. His Descendants!!
WE ARE !!!
Our kin have transformed below!!
Thus it is.
Thus it is, I know.
Then...

He lived on...
Then it seems,
His ally, who was without children,
Went... THERE to Tucano-point. He went to speak before,
"Thus it is" he called his in-law,
"Let's have a festival"
They made a festival, he showed her, he showed her his wife.
Two of them, two women came, one without children.
THERE!! To Tucano-point.
Heey! He went with ambauba dance-tubes, many will be the affines.
He went as dance-leader, his in-law was the dance-leader also.
They fest. They made ready ornaments as our ancestors danced.
They drank and danced and others came.
Ready to call,
His in-law with the dance-tubes.
He comes out and drinks.
This Kuai went inside.
Ready are the dance-tubes!
He calls them to dance with them.
The dance-leader gave his in-law to drink and spoke.
Then he brings in the cane-beer
SO STRONG IT WAS !!!
They take the tubes up, they do the round-dancing with the tubes, "Hoooh, they return with the tubes"
Says she, her husband's sister.
"Keroamina? How is it? Can you bear it?" he says,
"You are the only one" he says,
"He-hey!" he says, "We shall see" he says, "We will see who of us bears it" he says.
They drank...
They carried the tubes, all of them...
He drank, until drunk! Hardly did he carry the dance-tube.

Then the others are all drunk!
On,
He returns again.
Thus he lived
They return.
Then they go to make another festival those Oalipere-dakenai.
There at Uwatalimam, a return-festival in payment.
They fest,
There they asked for land,
They the Oalipere-dakenai, thus they lived the Oalipere-dakenai, as for their land, there was none! There was no land for Oalipere-dakenai!
We Hohodene, another land for us. All of our land is that from the ascent of the Quiary... To Jui-uitera.
They asked for our land, we the Hohodene.
Thus it is, it is our land it is
Thus our land, the earth it is
We, the River-Owners,
We, Hohodene, Hohodene Villages.
"Thus it is,
"We divide up land" he says,
This Oalipere-dakenai.
"We divide up land henceforwards,
"They just cannot live" he says.
"Soon it will be, people will end" he says, "You live on the riverbanks above, Affines, we divide up, we live at Pithiri, our settlement, all else, they've finished off everything, all their plants, everything.
"You live on the riverbanks above, you,
"No, we cannot live."
Then he moves here,
From Uwatalimam, he goes to live... There at the Quiary headwaters, Potodzekan.
There they grow. Well! They come and grow up his children
They live on ... Until death.

'Til they go downriver... There to *Keradaliapi*

They go downriver... There, they come out at the Quiary headwaters.

They live and descend... To the same place.

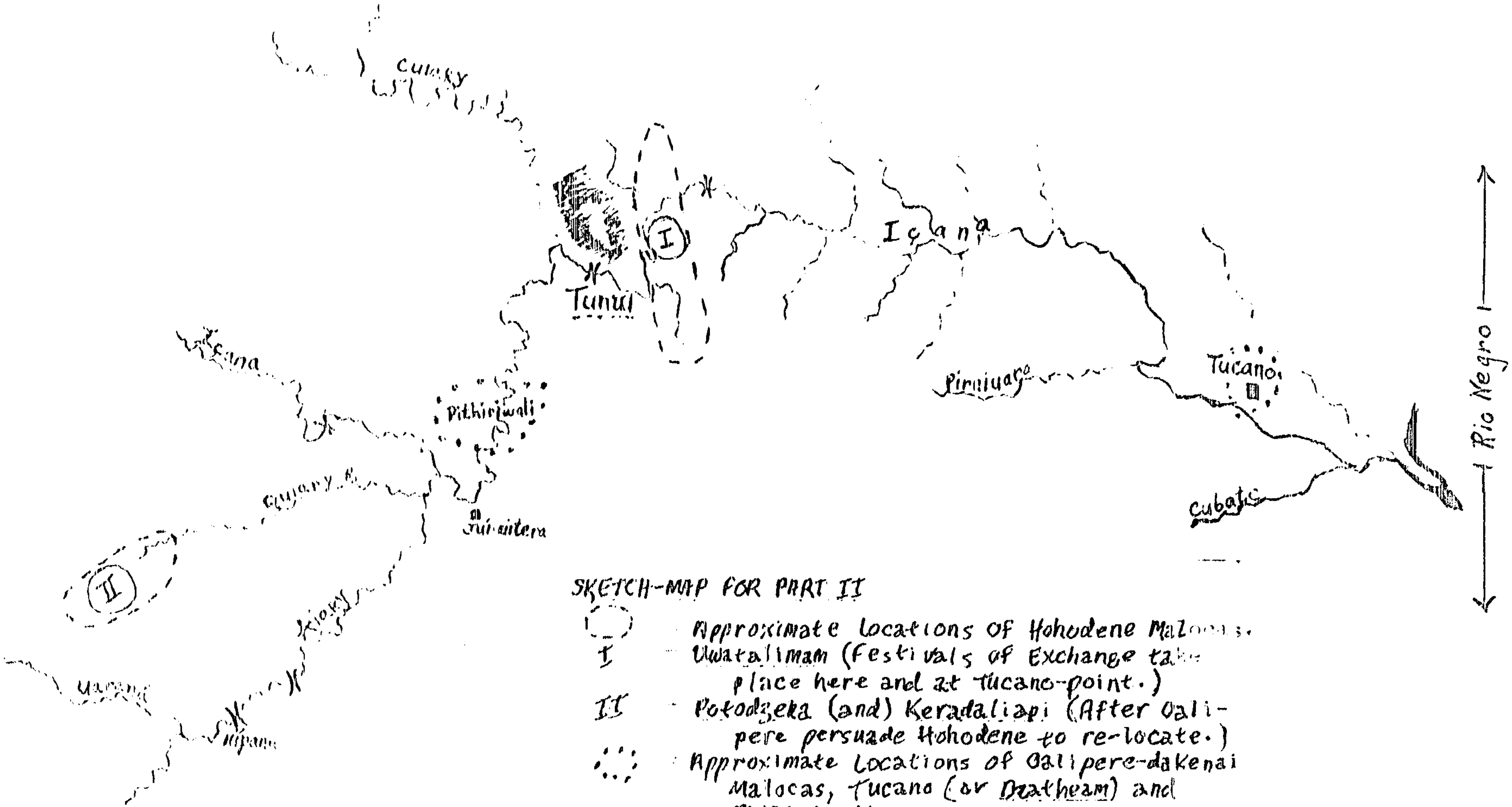
Then he was lost, the elder Keroaminali, dead on the Vulture-peoples' plaza,

Mainhakali gave him a sickness

Keroaminali they killed.

They returned and lived those his children....
For a long time.

(End, Part II)


Cuiary
I
Içana
Tunuí
Içana
Pithiriwali
Piraiuara
Tucano
Rio Negro
Cubate
Cuyary R.
Jui-uitera
II
Aiary
Uarana
Uapanu

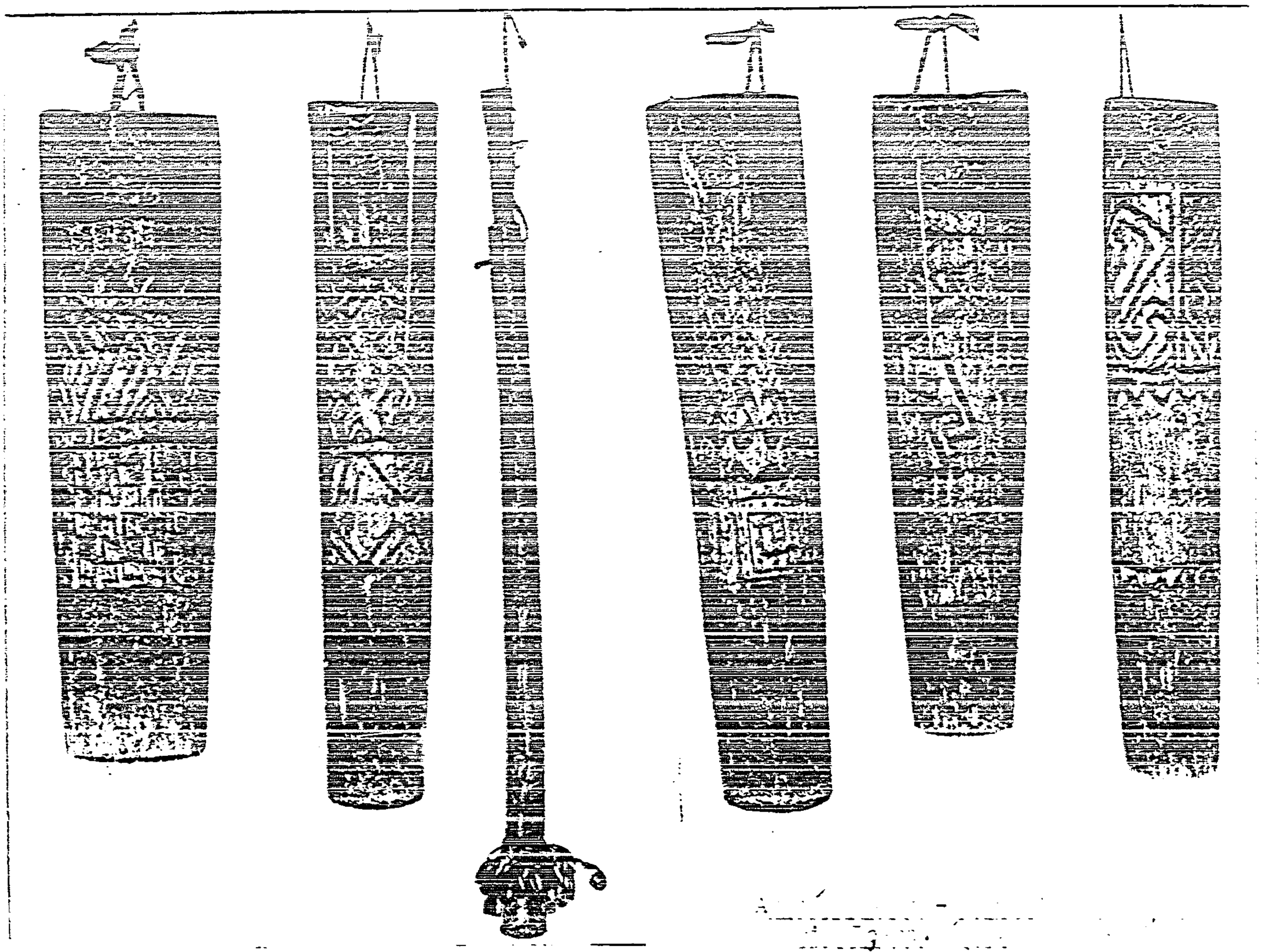
SKETCH-MAP FOR PART II

- Approximate locations of Hohodene Malocas.

I - Uwatalimam (Festivals of Exchange take place here and at Tucano-point.)

II - Potodzeka (and) Keradaliapi (After Oalipere persuade Hohodene to re-locate.)

- Approximate Locations of Oalipere-dakenai Malocas, Tucano (or Dzatheam) and Pithiriwali.



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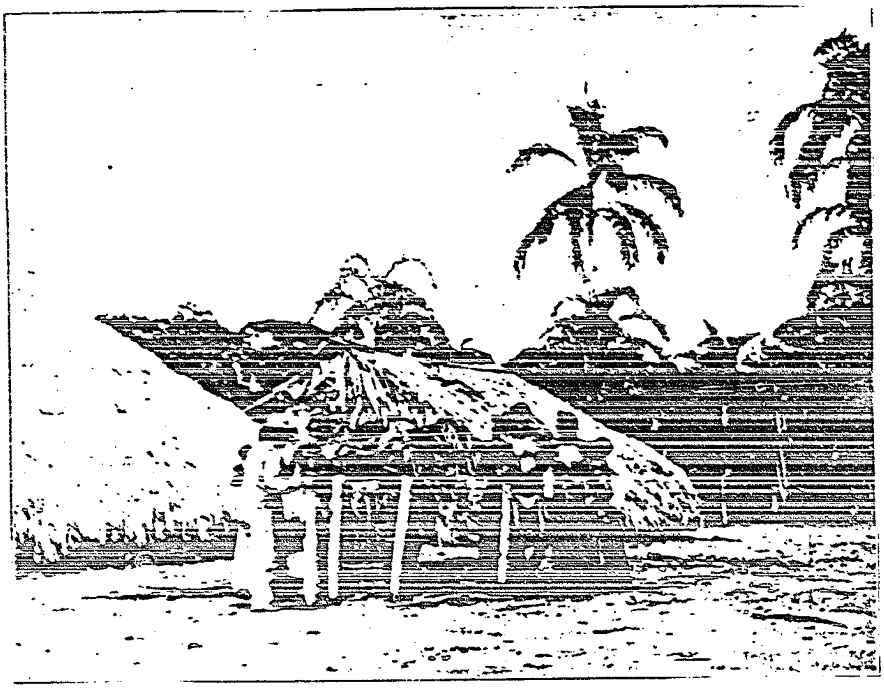

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One important expression which occurs throughout the text is "the only one," single, (paita-tsa), referring to the chief Keroaminali (lines 9, 18, 28, 80, 112). The expression may be seen as a way into what the plot of the story is about.

In the first instance, Keroaminali is "the only one" left of the Hohodene and is in danger of being the last Hohodene because of the raiding cannibal tribes. These cannibal tribes could be a number of possible tribes in the URN region. The oral history implies that the raiders included the Oalipere-dakenai, and other Hohodene narrators stated that the Jaguar-people (a sib known as Dzauinai) at one time raided for captives to eat. In the documents of the late eighteenth Century and early nineteenth Century, several people are referred to as "anthropophagous": the Uarequena people of the Xié River, the Cariban-speaking Carihona (or Umaua) of the far upper Vaupés and the headwaters of the Apaporis River in present-day southeastern Colombia. It is noteworthy that other tribes in the Vaupés region and in the Pira-paraná River region remember the raiding activity of the Carihona. The Barasana tribe, for instance, remember a time "when cannibal tribes swept through the Pira-paraná and they even point out a cave with smoke-blackened walls where they claimed their ancestors lived in hiding" (C. Hugh-Jones, 1977: 16). The Barasana remembered that there were two tribes who raided, the Carihona and the Baré of the far upper Rio Negro (Ibid.).

There are two points which ought to be quickly mentioned with regard to "cannibal tribes." The first is a reiteration of a point mentioned in Part II.B.1, above, that the use of "cannibal tribe" was part of a rhetoric commonly found in documents of the slaving period. It is part of a rhetoric of control (Rosaldo, 1978: 240) because colonists considered the same people as most outside of the norms of civilization and most in "need" of control. Virtually all of the tribes of the Upper Rio Negro were unknown to the colonists in this time and therefore were "out of their control." To bring them into the matrix of control, the easiest way was to label them as criminals, asocial or amoral. Hence war could be waged against them.

The second point is that the "cannibal tribe" label means for the Hohodene the equivalent of asocial and amoral people. It is a story element which is found in myths which the Hohodene tell. Animal tribes are called "cannibals" for they have inverted morals, are treacherous, dangerous and threatening beings. They persecute people until there is "only one left" in the world, like the Hohodene ancestor Keroaminali. Being on the verge of extinction also highlights the importance of what will follow in the story, the event of alliance with another group. In other words, the events in this episode describe the end of a societyless condition and the beginning or renewal of social alliance, which is then given a ritual celebration.[20]

In the second instance of occurrence of the expression, "only one," the Oalipere-dakenai are ready to abandon their war-making and hear that the Hohodene chief is barely making it alone. These Oalipere may have been migrating from the upper Içana River and, seeking to ally with people of the mid-to-lower Içana, they chose Keroaminali as a potentially useful ally. Another sib may have been involved in the alliance-making, the Jaguar-people, who are supposed to have abandoned war-making at the same time as the Oalipere. Now, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth Century documentary references, the three sibs are, in fact, reported to be living on the Içana River (ARF, tomo 48).

Upon approaching Keroaminali's settlement, the Oalipere call out their offer of their daughter for a wife, yet Keroaminali refuses with:

> Hey, here am I, Hey, you deceive me, you come to kill me...
> You deceive, you come to kill me, the only Hohodene chief.

Again, this expresses the Hohodene chief's independence from joining society on the Içana River, when there was no reason to believe that the other people had come with good intentions. The chief was being watchful but more than that, was bound to resist the incursions of potential enemies.

It was the Oalipere mother who acted as the mediator in the relationship which formed the alliance, by persuading Keroaminali of their good intentions. Keroaminali defensively kept a shield over the house-door and fired a dart at the approaching party. The Oalipere scold Keroaminali as the mother and daughter boldly enter the house. Their act of tieing up the hammock symbolizes the binding social relation which henceforwards will exist between the Oalipere and Hohodene. It symbolizes the intention of living together.

The alliance is formally negotiated with speeches, with drinking of the traditional, unsweetened manioc beer and with offerings of seasonal fish. The speeches last a day and a night. The union is settled as the end of the age of killing is ensured. Most important, it is the beginning of being integrated in the life of society with other sibs. The expression used to characterize the chief Keroaminali at this moment is the emphatic rhetorical statement that Keroaminali was "a youth" and not an elder. This emphasizes that Keroaminali's youth has been renewed, as if the chief had come of age again. Having been in isolation for such a long time, the chief had experienced the seclusion typical of initiation, had undergone hardships, fasting and restrictions, and being lonesome. Once the reintegration with welcoming allies was ensured, the chief's youth and strength were regained.

In the fourth instance where the expression occurs, it refers to the fact that five of Keroaminali's children had been taken to the Rio Negro, to Barcellos or Manaus, and had stayed to transform into soldiers and white people. As the narrator's son explained, the sons of Keroaminali "were already paying service" to the white man by staying in Barcellos:

> Hooooo, already they have transformed, into those soldiers,
> Then they went, everyone of them, below, everyone,
> We Hohodene, thus it is they transformed into white people below, all of them.
> Only one then lived of us,
> Keroaminali. His Descendants! WE ARE!!
> Our kin have changed below.

These lines really speak for themselves: as the Hohodene saw it, they were at a critical point of losing group continuity and ethnic identity to the whites. The whites were "soldiers" and it is an interesting observation that as Hohodene abandoned their own war-making, the whites took them below to form the Hohodene children into soldiers. It is altogether in tune with the documents of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth Century when the whites were concerned with manning the forts on the Upper Rio Negro, and the military were persuading Baniwa to descend to "pay service" at the forts.

The fifth use of the expression, paita-tsa, occurs during the dance-festival which was held at Tucano-point on the Içana River. A Oalipere challenges the chief Keroaminali, questioning whether he will last through the night on the exceptionally strong cane-beer. The cane beer is not like the "sweet stuff" which the Hohodene drank while on their sojourn on the Rio Negro; nor is it like the traditional beer-drink at the ceremonial which affirmed the alliance between the two sibs. This beer is exceptionally strong, like cachaça. Yet Keroaminali, having experienced the drinking-bouts of the Rio Negro, finds the endurance test of the Oalipere an easy match, and lasts through the night while others fell down drunk.

This dance-fest was an event of major importance for the alliance of the two sibs. "Many allies" (itenaaki) were present, there was a full array of ornaments, cases of ceremonial equipment and headdresses. The participants danced with dance-tubes (waana) and the dance-leaders called each other twice to drink and dance with the tubes. They served each other equally.[21]

In Baniwa belief, the waana are instruments which symbolize a transition between this world of humans and the other world of spirits. In one myth of the first people, a dance-festival is held where the participants dance exclusively with waana. Each time they danced, they pounded the earth with force with their waana and ascended up to the sky. Eventually, they transformed and left the world to live immortal in the sky-world. In another myth, the Hohodene ancestors return from a dance-fest-and-drinking-party held on the Uaraná River. Having hunger, they stopped in a house which they did not recognize as belonging to the spirits. They ate the spirits' food; then they began to dance with the stomping-tubes in the spirits' house. They danced down the path from the house to the port, straight into the river where they transformed into other spirit-people, called the Fish-people.

In the ceremonial held to celebrate the Hohodene-Oalipere marriage, while the people are dancing with the waana, then "Kuai entered" the ritual house, which means that the sacred flutes and trumpets are played during the dance-fest. The cultural significance of the presence of the Kuai-flutes in the fest is this: the dance-tubes effect a symbolic linkage between the ritual celebrants and the first-people, the ancestors of all Baniwa. The sacred flutes, Kuai, in essence represent the first-people. Thus, the Hohodene and Oalipere renew their ties with the ancient past, before their encounters with the white people.

Another interpretation of the event is that Hohodene and Oalipere are most concerned with the growth of their sibs. Descendants would hopefully be forthcoming from the alliance. Hohodene most needed to regain continuity because they had nearly lost it when Keroaminali's children had stayed with the white people. When Baniwa play the sacred flutes at initiation rites, the belief is that the music of the ancestors enters the souls of the participants and effects in them internal soul change. This internal change is then related directly to future growth and reproductivity. The playing of the sacred flutes is vitally important to the creation and renewal of the social groups who participate. Hence the festival of exchange between Hohodene and Oalipere facilitated the growth of the sibs.

A third interpretation of the fest is that the Hohodene had lost their boxes of ceremonial equipment as a result of the forced journey to the Rio Negro. In the dance-fest at Tucano-point, the Hohodene renew their traditional role as dance-leaders, and their relationship to traditional dance-instruments and ornaments.

Shortly after the fest at Tucano-point, the Oalipere hold a return-festival and during the proceedings, they request a land division. Because the bond of social alliance had previously been affirmed through the marriage, the Oalipere had the legitimate right to do so. They were in a situation of crisis in which their Hohodene allies could be called on to help. The land at Tucano-point had been exhausted; it was no longer productive for plantations and people were starving, or "finishing off" (nawadzaka). In truth, the lower Rio Içana, where Tucano-point is located, is "a river of hunger," whereas the Quiary, parts of the Aiary and the mid-Içana are among the few pockets in the region of truly productive land for gardens. Nearly all the messianic movements among the Baniwa have had major centers on the lower Içana River and nearly all of them have focussed around the growth of plantations and food crops, such as manioc. The physical suffering resulting from hunger, and the food problem, are particularly severe on the Içana River. When the Oalipere join with the Hohodene in a festival, they express exactly this suffering.

Festivals of exchange today can also be a medium of expression for suffering. In one fest I witnessed in 1976, Hohodene offered their Cubeo affines a large quantity of uapixuna fruit. When the hosts gave the guests the fruit, the guests received the gift with a long speech made at the house-center. The substance of this speech, I was told, was how the guests were so poor while the hosts were so rich in what they had to give. Dancers continued to play panpipes and chant as the speakers continued to negotiate the transaction.

In conclusion, this part of the oral history eloquently describes a movement from an absence of social order to the creation of social and political alliance. As a result of the alliance, the Hohodene and Oalipere are able to renew themselves as viable social groups. Hohodene and Oalipere then had many children, and thus could continue to grow in the future.[22]

II.C.2: Economy, Society and Religion in Upper Rio Negro Settlements to the Early 1850's

> The practice of the old missionaries who founded villages without armed force and which today are found civilized, is a very sure proof that forest people are not domesticated by violence, nor by the initiation of methodic instruction. Accustomed to an unlimited liberty, they are incapable of subjecting themselves to the duties of society which they repute with heavy throw, for not being in a state of knowing its advantages. (Manuel Joaquim do Paço, Reflexões Politicas sobre o melhoramento da Capitania do São José do Rio Negro, ms. dated about 1820, in Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, p. 42)

In the first quarter of the nineteenth Century, the centers of economic and cultural development on the Rio Negro seemed to remain around Barra (present-day Manaus). In the 1830's, political revolts originating in Belem do Pará, known as the "War of the Cabanos," swept the Amazon region, moving as far up as the middle Rio Negro, around Lama Longa, and threatened the political security of the government.

During this time, the people of the far Upper Rio Negro had to contend with the local military, a single missionary, and a few merchants. These white people or caboclos (descendants of Indian people and whites) were, for the most part, interested in Indian laborers for extracting forest-products (spices, or drogas do sertão), working for the Royal Service, and producing farinha de mandioca which was vital for the sustenance of the colony.

To accomplish all of this, the system was based on the exploitation of labor, which was made possible by the skillful manipulation of the threat of force, the distribution of trade goods, the blandishments of a priest, alcohol, the manipulation of chiefs, etc. The people in charge did what they could to increase production and revenues, and to line their pockets.

In the nineteenth Century, Christian religion flourished on the Upper Rio Negro of Venezuela and Brazil. It was a folk Catholicism, largely based on a cult of the saints, which had developed from the late eighteenth Century. It had become a form of religious organization and a source of meaningful activity which had a momentum of its own, largely independent of outside missionary influence. By the mid-nineteenth Century, this religious organization had developed to a point where people could find in it freedom from colonial political and economic structures, to which they had become attached, and, as we shall argue, seek in it salvation from their oppressive economic burdens.

In the communities of Venezuela, the boat-building industry and extraction of forest-products in many villages exacerbated the situation of servitude to the white "racionales." Perhaps even more than on the Brazilian side of the frontier, the Baré and Baniwa came to experience great oppression from this system. By the early 1850's, Baré and Baniwa had begun to link oppression with millenarian themes, and to express their rebellion during rituals held on Catholic saint-days. By the mid-nineteenth Century, a form of Christian evangelism became a flourishing institution on the far upper Orinoco, and this evangelism gave strength to those followers who sought to rebel against their economic burdens. With this overview, we can return to the Brazilian side of the frontier and explore more carefully how the institutions of economy and religion developed.[23]

The continuing concern of the luso-Brazilian government was to obtain laborers to work for the sustenance of the colonists. In the early 1800's, orders were sent out from Barra every six months to procure Indian men, women and boys to work in the Royal Service at Barra and the vicinity. Indians worked plantations, presumably with pay, in order to produce crops for export, or to build new villas for the colonists. From 1808 through 1820, a tax (finta) was levied widely throughout the province, in which people were required to turn over three alqueires (about forty liters) of the manioc cereal which they produced. This tax was to be paid on schedule, every year, to the account of the Royal Treasury (Conego de Souza, 1848: 458).

Both the Royal Service and the tax on manioc cereal were very difficult to control and enforce, however. Several documents from 1820-30 lament the "lack of farinha" or the "desertion" of workers, as problems of the system (Docs. 6, 7, 13, in Cartas, Oficios, e Documentos, ... 1799-1831).

One mechanism which the Governor of Barra encouraged during this time to organize workers and to collect farinha was to order native chiefs to appear in Barra in order to receive "letters of patent" issued by the Governor to the chiefs. These letters basically bestowed on the chiefs the role of middlemen between the Governor and the tribespeople. For example, a chief from the Vaupés River was ordered to appear in Barra in 1820 to receive a "letter of patent" (Archivo do Amazônas, hereafter AA, Vol. 1, No. 2: 29). The letter entitled the bearer to be considered "the chief of the Uaupés Nation" and thereby to enjoy the "honors, liberties, exemptions and rights" inherent in the recognized post. In the eyes of the Governor, the letter legitimated the authority of the chief over all villages of the "Uaupés Nation" who from then on, were considered under the chief's command.

By mid-nineteenth Century, these letters had had an effect in mobilizing people to produce farinha for the sustenance of the colonists. In the same Vaupés village, the scientific traveller, Alfred Russell Wallace, saw in 1851 that the people made farinha only because it was in demand at Barra.

> A basket of farinha, that will last one person very well a month, will cost about threepence; so that with a small expenditure a man may obtain enough to live on. The Indians here made their mandiocca bread very differently from, and very superior to, those of the adjacent rivers. The greater part is tapioca, which they mix with a small quantity of the prepared mandiocca-root, and form a white, gelatinous, granular cake, which with a little use is very agreeable, and is much sought after by all the white traders on the river. *Farinha they scarcely ever eat themselves, but make it only to sell*; and as they extract the tapioca, which is the pure glutinous portion of the root, to make their own bread, they mix the refuse with a little fresh mandiocca to make farinha, which is thus of a very poor quality; yet such is the state of agriculture on the Rio Negro, that the city of Barra depends in a great measure upon this refuse food of the Indians, and several thousand alqueires are purchased, and most of it sent there, annually.
> (Wallace, 1853: 200-1)

Besides farinha, the Tariana and Tukano people were important contributors to the growing export of salsaparilha and other forest-products. Tariana women were especially proficient in the production of *caraiurú*, a red dye, also for export (de Souza, 1849: 467-9).

The Baniwa people are not mentioned in the documents until 1848, but they probably did participate in the Royal Service. Chiefs were surely sent to Barra before then. Other documents may show how much Baniwa labored in the trade for salsaparilha, tree resins, and so forth, because they were in high demand throughout the nineteenth Century, and the Upper Rio Negro region was the principal source for them (Ibid.: 469).

Compounding this situation, in the 1820's and 1830's, enterprising merchants (white men or caboclos) began to journey to the far Upper Rio Negro to live and trade on a permanent basis. Known as *negociantes* or *regatões*, the merchants acted as intermediaries between large exporting firms in Manaus and Pará and local Indian villages. They lived by their canoes or launches; often they made shelters or houses in Indian villages. Their principal bases of operations were at São Gabriel da Cachoeira and São José de Marabitanas. They frequently were allies of the military at the forts; whatever business the military needed done, the merchants could be engaged to do it for them. By 1839, at least half-a-dozen regatões worked on the far Upper Rio Negro.

One of them, who traded with the Baniwa was named Manuel Joaquim; he resided at Nossa Senhora da Guia at the mouth of the Içana River. The scientific traveller, A.R. Wallace, encountered Joaquim in 1851. The portrait of Joaquim's outlaw-character--not withstanding Wallace's classist biases--reveals how he was in league with the Commander of the Fort of Marabitanas. Other merchants, such as one named Manuel Lima (or Senhor L. in the following quotation) tried to enforce some law, but to no avail:

> The most important event that had occurred in the village was the arrival from Barra of Manoel Joaquim, a half-breed Brazilian, some time resident at Guia. This man was a specimen of the class of white men found in the Rio Negro. He had been a soldier, and had been engaged in some of the numerous revolutions which had taken place in Brazil. It was said he had murdered his wife, and for that, or some other crimes, had been banished to the Rio Negro, instead of being hung, as he deserved. Here he was accustomed to threaten and shoot at the Indians, to take their daughters and wives from them, and to beat the Indian woman who lived with him, so that she was obliged to hide for days in the forest. The people of Guia declared he had murdered two Indian girls, and had committed many other horrible crimes. He had formerly been friendly with Senhor L., but a year or two ago, had quarrelled with him, and had attempted to set fire to his house; he had also attempted to shoot an old Mulatto soldier, who was friendly with Senhor L. For these and other crimes, the Subdelegarde de Policia of the district had indicted him, and after taking the depositions of the Indians and of Senhor L. against him, had wished to send him prisoner to Barra, but could not do so, because he had no force at his command. He therefore applied to the Commandante of Marabitánas, who was at Guia at the time; but he was Manoel Joaquim's "compadre," and took his part, and would not send him as a prisoner, but let him go in his own canoe, accompanied by two soldiers, bearing a recommendation from the Commandante in his favour. ... with all this, nothing is easier in the Rio Negro, than for any person possessed of friends or money, to defeat the ends of justice. (Wallace, 1853: 215-6)

Missionaries are also a part of the picture. From 1832 to 1852, a single Carmelite missionary, the vicar of Barra, Frei José dos Santos Inocentes, periodically visited the far Upper Rio Negro region. Up until then, very little if any missionizing was actually done in the region. Frei José, however, actively tried to increase the number of baptisms and marriages conducted in proper Christian form.

Very little emerges from the documents about Frei José; according to A.C.F. Reis, Inocentes was a key figure in the political life of the Territorial government and in the political movement for the formation of the state government in 1851 (A.C.F. Reis, 1931: 154-5). A.R. Wallace met Frei José at Guia, when the Baniwa of the Cubate River came downriver to meet Frei José and receive the sacraments. Wallace registered a striking contrast between a person who was well-versed in the rituals of the sacraments and an old and decrepit man, an original story-teller, but "thoroughly worn out by every kind of debauchery":

> He had been a soldier, then a friar in a convent, and afterwards a parish priest; he told tales of his convent life, just like what we read in Chaucer of their doings in his time. Don Juan was an innocent compared with Frei José; but he told us he had a great respect for his cloth and never did anything disreputable--during the day! (Wallace, 1853: 157)

Frei José revealed something of his previous dealings with Indians to Wallace, also. While missionizing in Bolivia, Frei José had once recommended to the President that "four or five nations" should be exterminated by the method of introducing smallpox-infested clothes into their midst. While working on the Upper Rio Negro, Frei José proved that he was a friend of the Commandant of the Fort of Marabitanas and helped him to obtain workers from among the Baniwa for the Commandant's thriving trade in salsaparilha. Finally, Frei José was known to exploit the Baniwa for religious services: "Seven or eight distinct processes are involved in the Catholic baptism, all of which are well calculated to attract the attention of the Indians, ... in return for the shilling they pay for the ceremony" (Ibid.: 158).

It made very little difference whether Frei José actually visited with frequency or not, for the Baniwa and all people had worked out a very viable mix of folk Catholic religion, and traditional dance-festivals and ceremonies which their ancestors had celebrated for centuries before. Johann Natterer observed one traditional dance-festival among Baniwa of the Içana River in 1831. The fest involved the use of long-flutes, known as Kulirina (surubí-fish flutes), which were distinctive to the Baniwa and among the most beautiful flutes they made. The flute-players also wore bundles of castanha nutshells tied around their ankles and as they danced, they used the ankle-rattles to keep the rhythmic beat of the dance-line:

> ... On the 26th of June, 1831, I went out from Tunui and sought once more on the way out to pass through four towns of Bannivas. In one they were preparing a dance following their art where all the dancers at the same time blew sounds out of large, long, pitch-covered, twined-basketwork-manufactured trumpets, almost in the same single tone. Two of the dancers also had wound a cord on their ankles, on which were tied a large mass of half-hard capsules which produced rattling noises. (Johann von Natterer, quoted in Koch-Grunberg, 1967: 199. Koch-Grunberg saw von Natterer's notebooks in a private collection in Vienna. My translation.)

Twenty years later, both Wallace and Richard Spruce described traditional dance festivals-of-exchange among Tariana, Tukano and Baré people on the Vaupés and Rio Negro. Large-scale dance-festivals were held in which there was a full array of ornaments and instruments, the drinking of the hallucinogenic caapi (Banisteriopsis Caapi), and the ritual consumption of coca. The festivals were in full swing during these years; hundreds of people could gather in huge malocas for these fests (one Tariana maloca at Jauareté on the Vaupés River was measured by Wallace to be seventy six by one hundred and fifteen feet, width and length, and twenty five feet in height. It was the residence of about one hundred individuals, or twelve "families." Wallace's measurements were confirmed by Spruce; both probably used pacing or other semi-reliable means to obtain measurements. (Wallace, 1853: 193-5, and 201-6; R. Spruce, 1908: 312-5).

The folk Catholicism of the Upper Rio Negro region seemed to thrive particularly at São José de Marabitanas and São Gabriel da Cachoeira. The people of Marabitanas --Baré, Baniwa, Uarequena, Marepitana, and their descendants, and caboclos--were renowned for the celebrations of the saint-days. As Wallace observed in 1851, there was much preparation and consumption of native sugar-cane beer:

> About a fortnight before each festa--which is always on a Saint's day of the Roman Catholic Church--a party of ten or a dozen of the inhabitants go round, in a canoe, to all the sitios and Indian villages within fifty or a hundred miles, carrying the image of the saint, flags, and music. They are entertained at every house, the saint is kissed, and presents are made for the feast; one gives a fowl, another some eggs or a bunch of plantains, another a few coppers. The live animals are frequently promised beforehand for a particular saint; and often, when I have wanted to buy some provisions, I have been assured that "that is St. John's pig," or that "those fowls belong to the Holy Ghost."

It also emerges from documents of the early 1850's that many villages on the Upper Rio Negro were occupied at seasonal times, precisely for the celebration of the saint-day festivities. This is very important to remember when we consider the millenarian activities of the late 1850's. Apparently, the seasonal occupation had been developing over several generations, perhaps even from the late eighteenth Century, when Conego de Sousa observed something similar. In the mid-nineteenth Century, Wallace (1853) and a Capuchin missionary named Frei Gregorio both observed the same phenomenon. In fact, this temporary occupation of villages seems to have been normal for much of Amazonia when people got used to living in their sitios, when the merchant trade system was firmly in place, and when the notion of property in land began to be established. With the Indians, however, this mode of adaptation seems to have been a creative solution to the problem of how to keep culture and community together while cashing in on the trade goods, but without losing an undue amount of manpower to the whites' labor system.[24] The Baniwa people of Nossa Senhora da Guia, for instance, only occupied Guia at the saint-days, when they could celebrate festivities, trade with merchants (Manuel Joaquim) and receive sacraments from Frei José dos Santos Inocentes. When not engaged in such activity, the Baniwa lived on other parts of the Rio Negro and Içana, particularly on the tributary called the Cubate. There they worked their gardens on land which was far more productive than on the Rio Negro around Guia. They lived in clusters of thatched-roof shelters and from all appearances, they enjoyed a much more healthy way of living there, than elsewhere.

A.R. Wallace visited the Cubate River Baniwa in 1851. Wallace befriended them and they learned of white culture, eagerly questioning on things they had on their mind:

> where iron came from, how calico was made, if paper grew in my country, if we had much manioc and plantains.... They were greatly astonished to hear that all were white men there and could not imagine how white men could work, or how there could be a country without a forest. (1853: 154)

In return, Wallace learned from his hunting companions a bit of Baniwa culture: the manufacture of blowgun arrows, hunting skills and a few stories of jaguars and tapirs, a demon of the woods, and "a wild man with a long tail, found far in the centre of the forest" (Ibid.).

Wallace also recorded the following items for the Baniwa of the Cubate:

The men wore short haircuts, in contrast with Tukano men who had long queues;

The women wore small aprons of bark and necklaces and bracelets, while men wore but bark-cloth g-strings;

The men made little use of feathers and other ornaments for their festivals (in contrast with Tukanoan people), nor did they use quartz-cylinder ornaments;

Baniwa families of the Cubate lived in separate, square huts, clustered into villages;

Baniwa manufactured baskets, but not the durable carrying-baskets nor stools which were the manufacture of the Tukanoan-speaking people of the Vaupés;

Baniwa marriage was "monogamous, bigamous or polygamous." It was generally between cousins, but "uncles may marry nieces and aunts may marry nephews." (Wallace attributed this curious marriage practice to the effects of depopulation. Baniwa appeared to Wallace to be fewer in number than the Tukanoan people.

The earliest population figures available for Baniwa settlements on the Içana River seem to corroborate Wallace's impressions. See Appendix B: "Populations of Baniwa villages, mid-nineteenth Century." However, there were probably many uncounted Baniwa people living at the headwaters of streams and in the woods at this time. Depopulation on the lower Içana River may in fact have brought about an imbalance in marital partners, but further evidence is needed);

The men were "more warlike in their disposition," and were feared by the people of the Vaupés River. (Wallace gave no explanation of why they were more "warlike." In 1830, Conego André Fernandes de Souza wrote about the Baniwa, "the men of the river are warlike and strong..." (1848: 468), and that they were quick to retaliate against Sargento Miguel Arcanjo's raid and depredation of the Içana River in 1787.)

Funeral customs included house-burials and lengthy mourning periods, but there were no feasts on the occasion (Wallace, 1853: 353).

With this sense of the economy, society and religion among Baniwa of Brazilian territory, we turn now to the Cantón del Rio Negro of Venezuela for a brief comparative view. About a decade after the 1820 war of independence from Spain, the military engineer and traveller Agustín Codazzi visited the upper Orinoco region and wrote the following to the Provincial Governor in 1838:

> El canton del Rio Negro se puede llamar una Republica distinta de la de Venezuela; alli no impera la ley, y solo el capricho del Jefe politico y de sus subalternos alcaldes, que se dicen racionales..., y que son otros tantos satelites que fielmente cumplen sus disparatadas ordenes, siempre opresivas para la raza indigena" (cited in Michelena y Rojas, 1867: 330).

According to this document, the Political chiefs (Jefes politicos) sent representatives out periodically from the capitol villa of San Fernando, to the outlying rivers of the province in order to capture Indians and to take them to work in the houses of the Political Chiefs or their subalterns. Indians were required to work at fishing, hunting, looking for salsaparilha, cutting wood to make boats and launches, and so on. While they were paid in merchandise, they often had to suffer the arbitrary wills of the officials; thus many of them quickly fled to the woods or to the hills, soon after their arrival. The Guaharibos (or Yanomami) who inhabited the headwaters of the Cauabory River, were brutally massacred and raided by the military shortly after the War of Independence (Spruce, 1908: 355); many of them were taken to work in the fort of San Carlos at the confluence of the Upper Rio Negro and the Cassiquiare Rivers.

In 1845, the local government structure was changed to a "mixed" form comprised of missions and commissaries (one Commissary General was at San Fernando and a series of local commissaries were distributed along the frontier) (Michelena y Rojas, 1867: 329-30). The commissaries generally ruled to roost, and they had the power to order native leaders of villages to work on various projects, or in their own mercantile enterprises. As in Brazil, political officials and local merchants were allied and the canton government in the 1830-40's was little more than a business enterprise:

> Señor, son unos hombres que llegan allí[San Fernando] procedentes de Apure e outros puertos, y que llevan algunas mercancias fiadas del valor de 100 pesos cuando mas. Se ponen de acuerdo con el politico y el los manda de alcaldes al pueblo tal, para que allí hagan su comercio exclusivo y sean los agentes del politico. La primera medida que toman al recebir el baston es la de llamar todos los Indios titules, hacerles abandonar sus conucos e casas y llevarlos al Casiquiare a cortar madera; otros ... chiquichiqui .... (Rojas, 1867: 329)

Baniwa settlements which were very near the Brazilian border (Marôa, Yavitá, Tomo and San Carlos--mixed with Baré) gave the appearance of flourishing, economically prosperous communities. Boat-building, wood-cutting, and drug-collecting occupied the native laborers, although organized agriculture for export purposes never took hold (*Ibid*.: 330-1). Marôa was the most important of all communities in the eyes of the Governor for it was "la Mas poblada, la mas industriosa, y la que mas servicios hace al comercio por hallar-se frente al caño Pimichin" (*Ibid*.).

In the 1850's, Wallace agreed with Rojas' impressions of a clean and beautiful Marôa, where people seemed prosperous, finely-clothed, and "neat." Passing through in early 1851, Wallace was greeted by an "Indian comisario, who could read and write and was quite fashionably dressed in patent-leather boots, trousers, and straps" (1853: 164). Named Carlos Bueno, apparently his prosperity was being supported through a healthy trade with natives in distant regions. From them, he obtained products such as baskets, blowguns, quivers, curare poison, etc., which were then sold to other merchants or markets. Bueno sent people on journeys to the Içana River also, to trade with Baniwa; the journey simply involved a descent of the Acque or Tomo Rivers, following a trail which connects with the Cuiary River, in Brazil, and coming out just above Tunui on the Içana.

Another key locale for mercantile enterprises and boat-building was San Carlos. Like Marôa, it was large and had the appearance of prosperity with well-kept buildings (one of which contained an ominous stock for punishing criminals), and a local comisario. Being on the frontier, various luso-brasilian merchants had taken up residence to trade. Merchants and comisarios alike were in control of goods coming into the region and the only way Baré or others living in the village could obtain them was through work in the various enterprises. In 1853, Spruce observed that "debt-bondage" had not only come to dominate local economy, but was clearly a problem impossible to escape:

> The Indian carpenters are all in debt to some racional or other and if a person needs one for the slightest job, he must first pay the debt of some carpenter, and then the latter will not put hand to work without further advance of goods. Thus I, for instance, had a couple of carpenters to "buy" and after they finished my canoe and made me some boxes, one of them still owed me 40 dollars. If I have no more work for him when I return to San Carlos, then I must try to "sell" him which is quite another thing, for no one here has any money; and if I receive piaçaba and boards, then I must build a boat to carry them down to Barra and sell them, which will perhaps be a worse speculation than losing the money. (Spruce, 1908: 377-8)

The debt of people could spiral; though no books have yet been found which might give more concrete evidence, Spruce's example, and others given later in the book, illustrate it clearly. People could owe at least two years or more of work without the means to pay it off.

Debt-bondage was having some effect on peoples' health as well. Spruce observed that the boat-builders at San Carlos would not work "unless each brought a stock of _bureche_, and distilled cane beer" (_Ibid_.: 375). The liquor appears to have been native-made, although cachaça was probably imported by merchants and at very high costs. One cannot escape the impression in Spruce's account of San Carlos that liquor was a "problem" coming from debt to the white man. In 1976-7, Baniwa considered cachaça to be a contributor to fighting, serious illness, and demoralization. Never more clearly was this visible to me than on Christmas Eve, 1976, when cachaça and rum were drunk in abundance all night long at the village across the mission-post on the Içana River. People anticipated that a fight would break out in the morning, they joked about it, and sure enough, serious quarrels broke out in one house at dawn.

Baniwa and Baré at San Carlos were not at all complacent with this situation, however. Every additional burden of work, seasonal hunger, or ailment seemed to be adding to peoples' discontent. Religion and rituals soon became the locus of peoples' focal concerns and hopes for betterment.

In the canton of Venezuela, few if any Christian missionaries were located in the frontier settlements from the 1830's on, but the people of Marôa, Yavita and elsewhere seemed to be actively engaging in Christian festivals and practices. In Yavita, Marôa and probably Balthasar, it seemed to both Wallace and Spruce that Baniwa and others celebrated a "mixed" form of religious practice, where traditional dance-festivals went on at the same time people observed daily orations, hymn-singing, or other saint-day festivities. A great part of the Christian instruction they were receiving came from certain elders of a people known as Sambos, who were descendants of African and Indian peoples. Sambos had originally come from the north of Venezuela from the early colonial mining settlements of Nirgua and Buria. In mid-to-late sixteenth Century, African slaves working in mines had rebelled and formed separate colonies, with government which they considered autonomous from Spain, and allied with native peoples of the Orinoco and tributaries (Humboldt, 1907: 66). In Humboldt's time, a few Sambos were living around Maypure on the upper Orinoco. After the 1820 war, more came to live nearer the frontier and by 1840-50, they lived in settlements like Balthazar and Yavita. Sambos brought with them a long and deeply held tradition of religious observances and practices. In 1853, Richard Spruce visited Yavita and Balthazar and lived at San Carlos. The impression of neat and orderly ways of living in the villages, Spruce saw as "due chiefly to the teaching of an old man, a Sambo, whose talent for singing masses and litanies and strict attention to religious observances have given him great influence and gained for him the name of Padre Arnaoud" (1908: 451).

One of the principal saint-days on the Rio Negro and much of Catholic Amazonas, then as now, is São João (or San Juan), celebrated on June 24th. An important part of the festivity is the burning of great bonfires at night, around which people walk or dance and occasionally jump through from one side to the other. There is much drinking, dancing with panpipes and tambourines.[25]

In June of 1853, Spruce was at San Carlos during the São João fest:

> For some time previous to the feast of San Juan, there were obscure rumours that a general massacre of the whites had been planned for that occasion and as the Portuguese passed along the streets the Indians called out from their houses, that the Feast of St. John was coming when old scores would be paid off. Some said that they had submitted long enough to the whites and that on the Orinoco it was quite a common thing to kill a white man and throw his body into the river..." (1908: 348-9)

No doubt Spruce's associations with nineteenth Century European customs were running through his head as the day approached. Nearly all the Portuguese left the area; Spruce barricaded himself in a house, armed himself to the teeth, and prepared for what he thought would be an attack. No mishap occurred whatsoever and even though this incident and others Spruce relates give one cause to suspect something was in the air, the Baré apparently decided Spruce was not the source of their worries, or whatever. The day of São João, "to even the score," is important because four years after Spruce feared the uprising, the Baniwa of the Içana believed that on *the day of São João, there would be a burning of the world and the salvation of the Içana River Baniwa from their suffering would occur* (see II.D.4, below). It is apparent, then, that what Spruce saw, or thought he saw, was an early manifestation of rebellions building up year by year, which would come to shake up the white establishment in the region, an unstable and uneasy one at best. There were other symptoms of the rebellion which I shall consider in the following sections.

Endnotes

[19] The reason for this violation of story chronology is as follows: the first part of the History describes extremely well a series of events which were recorded in documents of the early 1850's about the upper Vaupés River. I found great difficulties in following the story chronology with events recorded in the documents afterwards; theoretically, the story should have "fit" the years 1856-8 and later, 1876-8, according to the story chronology. In neither case, could I give a convincing demonstration, based on the extensive documents for both times. On the other hand, if Part I of the oral history refers to the late eighteenth Century, as I initially believed it did (but do not have the documents to show it), then a far more convincing argument could be made that Part II of the History refers to the turn of the nineteenth Century, and an even more convincing case could be made that the last part refers directly to 1857-8. I will present arguments in this section that Part II of the oral history refers to the turn of the nineteenth Century, and that it refers to the creation of a new society which in all probability was of utmost importance to the Baniwa at this time. As for Parts I and III of the oral history, I believe the arguments presented in the appropriate sections are convincing, but when evidence emerges that the first part "fits" the late eighteenth Century, then I will change the structure of the argument.

[20] In this interpretation, I follow the findings of Middleton, writing on the Lugbara (1960), Leach (1964), Rosaldo (1978), and others. Middleton, for instance, points out that the Lugbara see people who are socially and historically distant from themselves as sharing the attributes of "physical inversion, cannibalism, incest, and living outside the bounds of society " (1960: 236). The Hohodene seem to share a similar view of things.

[21] The tubes are made of hollowed-out ambaúba wood. They are painted with designs in red dye, caraiurú, and ornamented with white heron feathers. The elders would carry them in a dance-line, stomping along the dance-path in unison from inside the dance-house out onto the plaza. There they chanted among each other in set refrain. There were always many women at these feasts and when the dance-lines formed, the women joined their male partners and

chanted in response. Sometimes youths carried long whips ahead of the procession, followed by youngsters carrying bowls of drink. All night long, the dances continued interspersed with periods of sitting, drinking, conversing or chanting.

[22] In the beginning of the interpretation, I focussed on the use of the term *paita-tsa*, only one, unique or single. I saw this as a way into the interpretation of a movement from an asocial condition to a social condition after alliance. Indeed, the term is not used *after* the alliance has been affirmed.

Other uses of the term occur in myths which the Hohodene and Oalipere tell. Especially, they occur with reference to the characters Yaperikuli, the Maker in Baniwa religion, and Kaali, who introduced manioc to the Baniwa. There are points of comparison between Yaperikuli and Keroaminali, the Hohodene. Yaperikuli saves people from being totally finished off by dangerous animal tribes who eat people. Keroaminali was a single, unique ancestor who survived the threat of extinction and prepared the way for the growth and the continuity of the sib. Hence Keroaminali is *like* the mythical Creator and Maker of Baniwa religion.

[23] From the end of the eighteenth Century through the 1830's and 1840's, government documents relating to the territory of the Upper Rio Negro are scarce. I have located the following: (1) the collection in *Cartas, oficios e Outros Documentos pertencentes ao Comarca de Barcellos, Tomar e Moura* ..., 1797-1831, in Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro; (2) Do Paço, *op. cit.*; (3) Conego Andres Fernandes de Souza, "Noticia Geographica da Capitania do Rio Negro ...," in *RIHGB*, Vol. 10, 1848: 411+.

From the first decade of the Century to the mid-50's there was, to my knowledge, a single scientific traveller, after A. von Humboldt, Johann Natterer, who visited the Içana River in 1831 and lived in a "great town" of Baniwa at Tunui Rapids. Natterer's notes are either stored in private collections in Wien or were destroyed in a museum fire in Hamburg (Koch-Grunberg, 1967: 47), but Koch-Grunberg and Spix and Martius have published fragments of these notes.

The traveller Martius never visited the Içana but included a number of pages on the ethnography of a people whom he called "the Içannas" (1867-600-2). These pages include the following information: 1) a list of "bands" or "families," based on Natterer's lists and on A.R. Wallace's lists of the mid-nineteenth Century. These "bands" correspond to what would be known in modern anthropological terms as "sibs"; 2) a few brief notes on physical characteristics, clothing, polygamous marriage, and "good" and "bad" spirits of Baniwa religion; 3) word-lists taken from several Baniwa dialects, of Maroa, Tomo, the Içana, and Yavita.

On the Venezuelan side, I have found even fewer documentary sources than on the Brazilian side, for this period. There is a handful of notes collected in Michelena e Rojas (1867) for 1846-54. This slim file, in and of itself, could hardly be considered adequate for local histories; however, two excellent sources, Richard Spruce and A.R. Wallace, provide brief historical sketches in their travelogues, concerning the periods most of interest.

[24] Recent evidence shows that seasonal occupation goes on today. The Brazilian anthropologist, Eduardo Galvão, observed in the early 1950's that São Joaquim, at the mouth of the Vaupés River, often appeared "like an abandoned village." It had three rows of houses, more-or-less well-taken care of, and a church on the side of which there was a grove of trees and a cemetery. São Joaquim did not have permanent inhabitants, however; only during the months of saint-day celebrations (late June through August) caboclos and Indians came together from the Içana, Vaupés and Rio Negro, to trade, to dance and feast. "For one month, the place has the life of a povoado" (Galvão, 1959: 52).

[25] J.G. Frazer has made some interesting notes on St. John's Day as it was celebrated in mid-nineteenth Century Europe, in the Golden Bough (vol. xi, Ch. vii). It was a Midsummer celebration and apparently there were actual human victims, or symbolic substitutions for them, or animals such as serpents, sacrificed in the fire, or by drowning in the river. The practice goes back to the Celts of the second Century, B.C.

PART II.D: RECONNAISSANCE, OPPRESSION AND REBELLION

II.D.1: Missionaries and Directors on the Vaupés and Içana Rivers

In 1850-1, an important shift in government came when the Province of Amazonas was created, the seat of which was at Barra or Manaus. The first President of the Province, João Baptista Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, basically tried to develop the economic resources of the Rio Negro region, but at the same time, he tried to ensure greater control over the frontiers with the Spanish territory. The Indian peoples were still largely unknown ethnographically but they were still seen as a great and untapped labor force which could be exploited, and as the backbone of the region's economy.

In the mid-nineteenth Century, government Indian policy was based on an ideology and rhetoric of "civilizing" and "catechizing" native peoples of the Rio Negro region. Government decrees, regulations and official statements projected views about Indian peoples which were expressed in a language or rhetoric of control. This rhetoric of control classified Indian peoples into different categories; and often the basis of these categories was the contribution which the various peoples made, or could make, to commerce and the economic development of the province.[26]

One basis for the formation of this ideology was a decree issued by the governor of Pará in 1845. This decree provided for a system of "catechization and civilization, education and governing" of all native peoples in the Amazonian province.[27] The Decree, called Decreto e Regulamento No. 426, 24 de Julho de 1845, revived the post of the General Director of Indians in the province of Amazonas. The General Director had the power to appoint various local supervisors, usually from the military, who would keep charge over the Indian populations in different parts of the Amazon region.[28]

For the first five years of its functioning, the Directorship system did little more than increase the number of Indian chiefs sent to Barra to receive letters-of-patent (including five chiefs from the Vaupés River and five from the Içana). On the whole, the system seemed to be handicapped by lack of adequate funding to accomplish anything.[29]

The aim of "catechization," at least for the Vaupés region, developed very little until 1852, when a new mission of the Vaupés and Içana was instituted. Until then, missions received more attention in other areas than on the far Upper Rio Negro.[30]

When Tenreiro Aranha assumed office in 1852, as the first President of the Province, he immediately set out to advance programs of development for the province. He sought to augment governmental jurisdiction over native peoples by increasing the number of missionaries and financial support of the missions; and he instituted a system whereby local Directors of Indians would periodically send groups of Indians to Barra as laborers. This system worked according to the following rotation schedule: four men from each tribe would be employed in paid public service work for a period of one month, whereupon they would be sent back to their villages and be replaced by four more men; four "apprentices" of both sexes would be instructed in "arts and manufactures appropriate to their sex," under the direction of tutors, with the end of making them "useful" workers, whereupon they would return to their families and, hopefully, put their newly-gained knowledge to work (Tenreiro Aranha, AA, I, 3: 72).

Aranha's program was designed to meet the problem of "decadence" which he saw everywhere in the province:

> For now I see everywhere the annihilation of rural works and of machine works, while the temples, public buildings, manufactures, offices and bridges are found diminished, in total ruins, and ... there are neither masters nor artisans to repair them; even in the midst of the best lumber, there is no one who builds boats nor buildings, ... even among excellent sources of minerals and stones and granite, there is no cutter who can prepare them for the construction of temples.... With the luck of Tantalus, ... what is there to do? (Relatorios, Vol. 1, 1852-7: 44; my translation.

Through the public service programs, Aranha sought to attract the Indians of the forest to work towards the rebuilding of a civilization at the point of extreme disrepair. It was a program which sought to educate skills to "thousands of children of nature" (Aranha, AA, I, 3: 73) in order that they might "join society," and become useful to the advances of civilization. Aranha often referred to the Mundurucu Indians as "the most civilized of all, already having formed agricultural establishments." Hence they were exempt from the public-service work program (Ibid.)

Aranha's view of Indian peoples was roughly formulated on a range of terms going from "children of nature," who were the least accessible wanderers in the forest, to those who could be taught civilization, to the "most civilized" Mundurucu, who had already advanced to the level of productive servants of the state and hence could be rewarded.

The third President of the Province (Aranha only governed for six months) made the correlation of cultural level and economic usefulness most explicit. The third President proposed a hierarchical classification of Indian peoples into three large groups, as follows:

> 1) Gentios, who live in the woods, without the least communication with civilized society, being certain nations or tribes of peaceful disposition and others fierce and capable of every atrocity.
> 2) Those that are living united in aldeias, in malocas already known, but absolutely not knowing our language, customs and ways; they don't avoid the presence of strange or foreign people, they enter in relations of small commerce with them, trading products of the fish and hunt, and spices that they collect, for cloth, iron, mirrors, glass beads, and other objects of insignificant worth, which satisfy their adolescent curiosity.
> 3) Those who know something of civilization, know Portuguese, live in aldeias, employed in public service works, agriculture, fishing, navigation, etc. ("Falla Dirigida à Assembleia Legislativa da Provincia do Amazonas pelo Presidente Conselheiro H.F. Penna" 10/1/1853; in Relatorios, vol. 1: 214.

The essential features of a rhetoric of control are present in this statement. Habitat, kinds of contact, channels of communication, and possibilities of commerce are the terms by which the policy-makers shaped their programs with respect to Indian peoples of the Amazon. Gentios were by and large more difficult simply because communication channels required intermediaries. Sometimes there were pacification problems which required the use of military force, and more often than not, gentios had no ongoing commerce with outsiders (Section D.2 is the story of one series of "pacification" expeditions undertaken on the Carapaná people in 1851-3). The more sedentary people of Category Two would be the most likely candidates for the public-service program. They were an intermediate category; their relations with civilized society were, in the eyes of the colonists, hesitant, like "adolescents," not yet fully formed. By being sedentary, they were "known" and hence closer to the expected norms of society than were the forest-dwellers.

All peoples of the far Upper Rio Negro region were lumped into Categories One or Two and the government effort focussed on making the gentios of the forest move to the river banks, while the sedentary riverine people would either work in the reconstruction of villages, or participate in public service at Barra.

Aranha recognized that the civilizing and catechizing program faced problems from the very beginning. Control over the frontier population was most important because there was apparently an increasing amount of emigration of people going from Brazil to Venezuela, and there were reports that the Rio Negro population was suffering from epidemic diseases. Aranha attributed the emigration to the "lack of a priest" because Frei Inocentes had by then retired. In March, 1852, epidemics of measles and fevers struck the population of the entire Rio Negro up to the Içana River. Clearly, the problem of emigration out of Brazil was related to the epidemics (Frei Inocentes-Presidente, 3/52, AA, I, 1: 27).

From 1852-4, President Aranha thought that a permanent missionary working on the Vaupés and Içana, together with a full-time Director of the Indians, could keep control over the emigration problem as well as develop the civilization and catechization programs. A Capuchino named Frei Gregorio, José Maria de Bene, was appointed the missionary. Lieutenant Jesuino Cordeiro of the Police Guard at São Gabriel was designated the first Director of the Vaupés and Içana, with a deputy supervisor, Lieutenant Felisberto, who was based at Marabitanas, and specifically controlled the Içana River population. From 1852 to 1855, the three of them worked on a day-to-day basis with the tribes and effected some important changes. They held very different views on how their assigned tasks should be undertaken; they often worked at odds with each other, and the difficulties they encountered in their work are instructive.[31]

De Bene missionized almost entirely on the Vaupés River at three key villages: São Jeronymo near Ipanoré Rapids, Carurú on the upper Vaupés and Mitu Rapids, near the border with Colombia. De Bene saw that his task was like starting from scratch, because no missionary had reached the regions where he worked. He saw the natives as living in a state of sin equivalent to the Fall from the Garden of Eden: "They are still in the state of our ancestors, when they broke the order of the Supreme Being of not knowing the forbidden fruit" (AA, I, 2: 69).

Once de Bene had selected the three sites, he ambitiously set out to work. For the first nine months, however, he was plagued by sickness, lack of adequate transportation, and lack of support from the local officials. Then, from January to March, 1853, he claimed he outdid himself in baptizing about one-quarter of the population in the fifteen places he visited on the Vaupés (or, 550 people of 2,296 he recorded at this time). Most of the baptized were children and young adults, along with a few chiefs and elders. By the end of his work in 1854, he had baptized about one-third of the total population.

For the first time in history, a missionary performed sacraments among people of the Aiary and Içana Rivers. The task was even more difficult than on the Vaupés, because the Baniwa, according to de Bene, lived in a totally "pagan state," no different from the jungle which surrounded them; they were like uncultivated fruits on a vine and "full of thorns" (AA, I, 2: 56). The image of the uncultivated garden, wild, forbidding and overgrown, pervaded de Bene's thoughts on the Indians. To him all Indians were probably like gentios.

De Bene had a trail cut by the natives from Carurú Rapids to the upper Aiary River in early 1853. By July, he visited the Baniwa and baptized about one-fifth of the total population (165 people), mostly children and young people. He missionized for about three months on the Aiary and Içana, but found that a great many of the villages of the region were abandoned:

> In five places, I did not find a living soul, because they went with their families to look for salsaparilha, to pay their debts to the Sr. Commandant, the Director of Marabitanas. (AA, I, 2: 37)[32]

De Bene returned to the Vaupés in September, 1853, disappointed in his evangelical work on the Aiary. He did find, however, that the Director had already joined with the merchants in exploiting the Baniwa. De Bene chose to wash his hands of the whole affair and to stick to the tasks of his sacred ministry. By 1854, however, sickness and old age forced his retirement to São Gabriel, where he remained Vicar until 1856. There were no missionaries on the Vaupés or Içana from then until late 1857.[33]

Jesuino Cordeiro saw his duties as including the following: the reconnaissance of the far upper Vaupés region; sending chiefs to Barra to receive letters-of-patent; spreading the word among the natives that the Governor wanted them to make new houses; summoning Indians from their settlements in the forest or at the headwaters of small streams to come to live on the main banks of the river. It did not matter to Cordeiro whether the forest-people were of different tribes, spoke different languages, and had ways of living incompatible with riverine dwelling. Large numbers of people actually did live at the headwaters of the tributary streams and were essentially inaccessible to "civilization" and government:

> For these Gentios still do not have communication with Christian people for them to serve in the future for the utility of the Nation and Commerce. (Cordeiro-Presidente, AA, I, 3: 55)

Cordeiro's way of accomplishing these objectives was the following: to take gifts, such as axes, machetes, mirrors, beads of various colors, calico cloth of various qualities, needle and thread, and assorted fishhooks; to prohibit the entry of merchants into the region (excepting himself) for at least two years, so that the tasks of making new houses could be completed (Cordeiro recommended that the merchants be told to work on other tributaries of the upper Rio Negro, such as the Cauabory River and the Içana River (Ibid.: 70); to send two new missionaries to replace Frei de Bene who "did not know the girias, nor how to lead, nor show any kindness..."; and to display the military power of the local police guard to the people of the upper Vaupés River, using ten armed military units,

> because the gentios are not accustomed to having communication with whites, I have to take some units with me to call for some chiefs, who still live in the center of the woods, to come to speak with me to see the order of the Governor, and to mark for them a place to make a village. I judge that this will be respected and attended. (AA, I, 2: 39)

Without receiving much response from the Governor, Cordeiro ultimately acted as he saw fit. Forming alliances with five influential Tukano, Tariano and Miriti chiefs, Cordeiro claimed that by the end of a year he had new houses and settlements built in ten new locations, and had concentrated large numbers of people in several key villages (Ibid.: 61).

Cordeiro could not settle the problem of the merchants, however. Five or more merchants worked on the Vaupés alone, gathering forest-products and obtaining "hundreds of alqueires of farinha de mandioca ... pitch, baskets, stools, earthen-pots and pans, hammocks, etc." (A.R. Wallace, 1853: 209-10). Tukano and Tariano were still employed in boat-building on the Vaupés, as Richard Spruce observed in September, 1852:

> There are two brancos constructing large canoes at São Jeronyme ... Chagas and Amancio .... They occupy nearly all the male population in cutting timber, etc., so that there is no one left to fish and the land is not very well-supplied just now. The people complain of having passed a dismal winter .... Nothing could be found to eat. (R. Spruce, 1908: 319)

Cordeiro reported having conflicts with Chagas particularly, but it is apparent that merchants could still be useful in providing services to him. People were in debt to the merchants and the merchants knew best how to negotiate for canoemen or how to muster up a force of native men to control uprisings or rebellions in the area.

By mid-1853, Cordeiro was beginning to meet with resistance from native chiefs on the Vaupés, who saw through the efforts of making people concentrate on the banks of the Vaupés. In a very revealing document, Cordeiro wrote that on the upper Vaupés, a rebellious chief made known his protests against the concentration:

> /the chief/ advised the people that they not leave from the center of the woods for the riverbanks,

> saying that the white people and the Governor wanted it that they leave for the riverbanks ... to be altogether and reunited so that afterwards, the Governor and the whites could come to capture them and bring them below. (Cordeiro-Presidente, AA, I, 3: 60)

Cordeiro quickly suppressed this rebelliousness by ordering the chief to be clapped in irons and put into prison for six days, wondering to the President whether more punishment was not needed. Cordeiro "terrorized the natives" (AA, I, 3: 69), but they realized the conflicting demands made of them. The rebellious chief seemed to be one voice with the bravery to speak directly against the oppression of the white man. It was not until three or four years later, however, when the situation became intolerably oppressive, that large numbers of people united together to do essentially what this chief had advised.

This section began with a view of the ideology proposed by colonists for native peoples in the Amazon during the first administration of the provincial government. The rhetoric of civilization served to emphasize that there was a large untapped labor force which had to be settled first in order to be controlled later. The forest-people who were most distant from the ideal of the civilized were people such as the Makú or Carapaná who were reputed to be capable of "atrocities" and who directly impeded the progress of "civilization" or development of the region. They could be treated with force, whilst the other, more "civilized" people who lived on the riverbanks could be enlisted in the government program. Either way, colonial ideology classified indigenous groups as tribal or uncivilized in order to begin a process of detribalization or civilizing. The Baniwa remember this time as one of severe disruption of their society, and in the following section, we will present part of a Hohodene oral tradition which best describes how this disruption occurred.

II.D.2: *Persecutions of the Möle-dakenai or "Carapaná", 1851-3*

In Parts II.B.2 and II.C.1, I discussed the Hohodene oral tradition which describes how a people known to the Hohodene as the *Möle-dakenai*, their elder brother sib, suffered an attack and massacre. The story of the massacre was told to me by several Hohodene of the Aiary River and it is, in its full recounting, a history of the sib ancestors from this time forward. I have found that the Möle-dakenai were the same people who are known in the documents of the early 1850's as the "Carapaná." The name "Carapaná," like many names of indigenous peoples mentioned in the documents, is a term used by outsiders and not by the people themselves. It means "mosquito" and is *lingua geral* or Portuguese. Tukanoan-speaking people refer to them as *Moteá*; Desana know them as *Mõneá*; Cubeo know them as *Möréwa* or *Möléwa* (Bruzzi da Silva, 1962: 126). The last name is the closest to Möle-dakenai as I can find; the pronunciation of *Möle* appears to be the same, and -*dakenai* is a Baniwa sib designation meaning "grandchildren" or "descendants of." Mölawa or Möle-dakenai once inhabited *the same area* of the woods off the upper Vaupés River and the upper Papury River, which is described in both the Hohodene oral history and in the documents.

In the early 1850's, there was a series of attacks and counterattacks between the Carapaná and "Maku" of the Upper Rio Negro and the whites and settled riverine peoples, which were a cause of great concern to the provincial government. The Möle-dakenai and their kin, the Hohodene, bore the brunt of the retaliatory attacks lasting between 1851 and 1853, and though they sought to avenge the wrongs committed against them, they found themselves facing the combined forces of the military and the settled peoples, working as representatives of the provincial government. In the end, the Möle-dakenai, the Hohodene and several other sibs appear to have "lost" the war, suffered severe massacres as a result, and were taken prisoners to the Rio Negro. All of these events are reported at length both in the Brazilian documents of 1851 to 1853 and in the oral traditions of the Hohodene.

I shall start the account with a segment of the Hohodene history which tells of the war against the Möle-dakenai and ends with the return of the Hohodene chief, named Keroaminali, from the Rio Negro to the Içana River. I shall present a segment of the tradition transcribed and translated from tapes, following a style and form which I have used for other Baniwa traditions presented in this thesis. It is a transcription based on breaking up lines of the written text by the placement of significant pauses in the spoken. Various techniques are then used to show narrative devices such as word distortions, emphases, pauses, etc. The narrator of the tradition was a Hohodene elder of Hipana village, named Keroaminali; at the time of the narration, a step-son Felipe aided in translating and adding a few comments along the way. These are kept in brackets and parentheses in the text.

The interpretation of the text will proceed by explaining the events, using all the written sources at our disposal and commenting on the tone of the action as narrated. A few simple ground rules guide the interpretation: every detail in the oral tradition should be considered significant and weighed in light of the correlation suggested with the 1850's; also, the ways or mannerisms of expressing the events of the war have a bearing on why Hohodene believe that they and their kin were unjustly punished in the assaults. They have a bearing on why the Hohodene sought salvation or sought to rebel several years later.

The second segment of the tradition I have already considered in II.C.1; the third and last segment will be considered in II.D.3.

Story of Keroaminali, Ancestor of the Hohodene, Part I.

Then it was...
They came back here,
They make a war,
Those Tariana.
Everyone.
Among them the Baré.
They come back in war.
With Mokoali (a Mölé-dakénai)
At Jurupary-House.
At Wãnalimam,
They drank and danced, they blew spells.
Then our ancestor Keroaminali went to tell them to come--
"War comes to us, they'll come," they say.
They went (on the Vaupés) they didn't kill.
"What is with you, you said a war"

/Mokoali says--"My arrow is very beautiful." Mokoali took a child for his own. Mokoali says--"I am wandering thus, you said 'let's kill people,' you said to me." Mokoali turned about, looked at the child and shot it. Then everyone shot their arrows and returned. The child was "the son of *Cadete*"./

Oh? Oh White people
People everyone went together.
Everyone descended.
They go downriver, to Uacaricoara (the upper Papury),
White people are there.
There she is thinking, this one of their mothers,
"Hey, hey, why does he stay away, my elder brother?" says she the mother.
Then as they spoke, another of the Vulture-people (Baniwa) heard,
"Why does he stay away?" she says.
"What is his name?" he says.

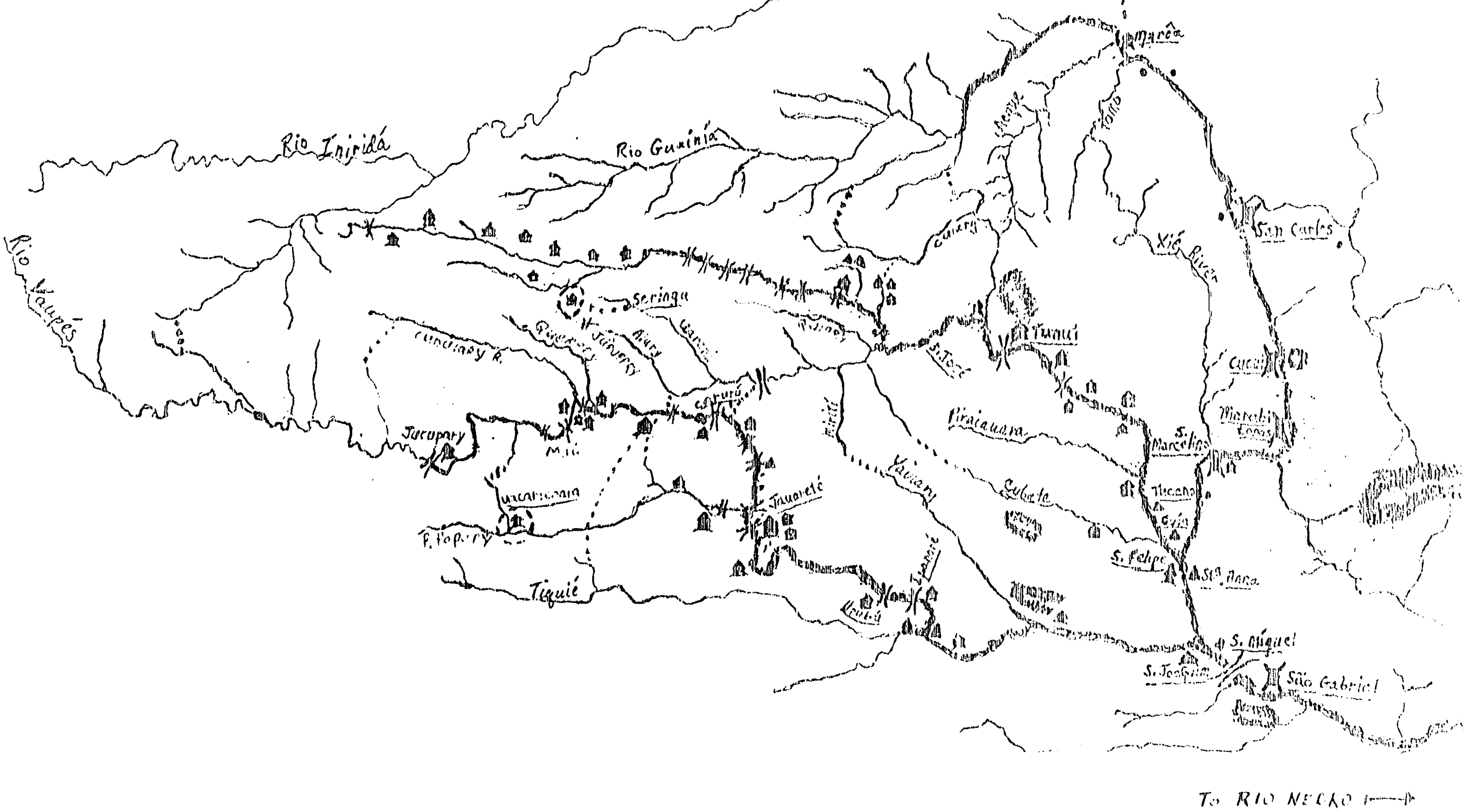
"Mokoali"--"Aaah this is he who we look for" they say,
He told everyone there is Mokoali--"Aaah let's go let's go"
They return again...
Theeeere! Above Seringa Poto (off the Uaraná)
The trail, they go on the trail.... Theere! To Kóherimádan (mid-trail)
They light torchwood...
They go at night...
Theeere! Painted-Face-Stream headwaters. They kill
They threw out everyone.
Then the elder Mokoali,
Went out to the edge of his plantains.
Then his grandson Mokoethe by name
Tuk! They catch him,
Like a little child he was.
As the torchwood lights in the house.
He jumps out, runs and falls.
He fell next to his grandfather--"My grandson?" "Huh?"
"So you ran and fell?"
Then they take and tie them up,
They killed...Toowhh! "Oooh, that one"...Toowhh! "Oooh, that one"...Toowhh!
Everyone! "Not a single one among them did they save!" says the old man, "That's all we are, so many among them, even to the littlest girl...."
Then they are ready to burn the house.
When done, they beat the drum...tuutuutuu.
They return with our ancestor, there to Uacaricoara...
They go...At São Miguel they stayed.
They carried with them those Arara-feather crowns,
Feather crowns, quartz pendants, collars, aah...
Jaguar-teeth collars, They tied together a box and an earth-pot
At São Miguel, they live there,
They stay and danced.

On, there they threw away everything, they joined in the pot... puk! puk!
They put there everything. There it is they carried it below.
Below they took everything.
Then they go... There! They live below Carmo, on the Cauabori River.
At Pǔthiri-pan they drank.
Hardly long they stayed, then they go... To Barcellos.
Heyy, sweet stuff they drank there.
There they wrote on paper.
He went with them there,
The Tunui-chief, of the Kadapolithana,
Balento by name.
A year he stayed, this one our ancestor,
Then he fled and returned:
From Barcellos: "Let's go, we return...
"There is no Hohodene chief now at our village, there is none."
With them the Inga-people chief.
His sons returned to the Castelhanos, having sickness they ran in fear...
Then soon they see "War comes to us," becoming afraid they flee.
Inga-people chief, our ancestor,
They return............THERE! Below (On the Içana)
He looks at their villages...
Then he goes to live at Uwatalimam (below Tunui, on the Içana)
He lives...
ONLY ONE LIKE SO!!!
He returns, it seems, with them,
Lives awhile with them, with Dthamaate, their chief,
Inga-people chief, that one.

(End, Part I)

We need to have an idea of places referred to in the narrative and the sketchmap on the following page may help. It has to be considered an approximation; I know of no map of the upper regions of the Aiary, its tributaries and trails.

Mölé-dakénai are associated with two places, the first being Jurupary-House, and it would have been at least one night's travel on foot into the forest off the upper Uaraná tributary. Conceivably the Aiary River could run this far northwest and the maloca would have been between the Aiary headwaters and the Uaraná. Judging by the great distances suggested in lines 29-33, the maloca may have been further west towards the Querary headwaters, and at the limit of possibility, the Cuduiary headwaters. Both these rivers traditionally have been Baniwa territory and have many small streams at their headwaters with Arawak names. Koch-Grünberg states that at least some of the "Carapaná" (Mölă̋-wa) were known to have inhabited the region above Jurupary rapids on the Vaupés where a small stream running northeast connects with the upper Cuduiary. They and their kin Tatú (Adzanene, of the same phratry as the Hohodene) had settlements near one another. The other place of the Mölé-dakénai is the upper Papury, at Uacaricoara, and a definite route of access from the upper Vaupés is by trail off a small stream (Ti-Igarapé) above Mitú. From at least 1850 to 1928, this region of the upper Papury has been known as "Carapaná" territory (Wallace, 1853: 201; Spruce, 1908: 355; Stradelli, 1891: 429; and de Sousa puts them there on the Carta Ethnographica). The "mother" at Uacaricoara, who mourned for her elder brother's withdrawal into the forest (lines 21-4) was a Mölé-dakénai (or "Carapaná"), and the tone of her question suggests that separation was the cause of her worries, that


Rio Inirida
Rio Guainia
Rio Vaupés
Maroa
Tomo
San Carlos
Xié River
Cuiary
Seringa
Aiary
Querary
Jauarety
Cunduary R.
Jurupary
Miti
Caruru
S. José
Tunui
Cucui
Marabitanas
S. Marcellino
Piraiauara
Tiquié
Jauareté
F. Papury
Uacarinoara
Tucano
Cajú
S. Felipe
Sta Anna
S. Miguel
S. Joaquim
São Gabriel
To RIO NEGRO

SKETCH MAP OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE WARS.

KEY: Rapids //
Connecting Trails ....
Malocas ⌂
Probable location of Kole-dakenai Malocas (⌂)
Forts ⋈

her elder brother Mokoali was in hiding when the "force" of whites and Vulture-people came after them.

The Vulture-people are from two places: a village called Carma, on the Cauabory River; and the land between the Apapory River (a tributary of the Japurá) and the Vaupés (Stradelli, 1891: 5). They come across in this episode as persecutors of Mölé-dakénai and Hohodene. Later in the tradition, the Vulture-people kill the ancestor Keroaminali. Today, Hohodene consider these Vulture-people their enemies.

I am not able to state with certainty from the oral tradition or my questioning where the maloca of the Hohodene ancestor Keroaminali might have been; in the pre-war stage, it certainly could have been near Mölé-dakénai on the upper Uaraná. The earliest documentary reference I have found is to a group of Hohodene who were living on the Içana, with Oalipere-dakenai, in 1852-3, but this is only one location among many.

The "war" which Hohodene and Mölé initiated took place on the upper Vaupés; narrators stated that it was below Carurú Rapids in the territory of Tariana people. It had to be a place where white people were actually located or had definite associations. The term "Cadete" or soldier is a military title, and the most likely links are with "police" or soldiers at São Gabriel. From early 1852 on, the Director dos Indios, Tenente Jesuino Cordeiro, had been working on the upper Vaupés, around Mitú Rapids, in several settlements of Cubeo, including Santa Cruz dos Cubeos at the mouth of the Querary River. Cordeiro had already begun the work of concentrating people in settlements from the mouth of the Vaupés on up; so the Cubeo settlements were a few locations among many undergoing change. Cordeiro was a police official, a native of the Cauabori River (below

São Gabriel) and possibly of Baré descent.

Narrators of the story specified that after Mölédakénai shot the "son of Cadete," then "police" from São Gabriel were sent for. For the moment accepting a tentative date of 1853, I find several similarities between the Hohodene story of the attack on the Vaupés and a statement by Jesuino Cordeiro that the village of Cubeos where he was staying in April, 1853, was attacked by the "Carapanás":

> At the village of Santa Cruz of the Cubeos, above Mitu Rapids, I was attacked at 5 a.m. of the 13th of April by a portion of people of the *Carapana* nation and others that reunited with them, and judging that these wandering people came to meet me or speak with me about something, I did not refuse their disembarkation. When I arrived at the door of my house, *I saw that the "malvados" came armed with bows and poison arrows, poisoned spears, lances and clubs* /Cordeiro's emphasis/. It was at this moment that they told me that these evil-intentioned ones, came to kill and rob me, and using prudence I ordered to ask them what they wished. Then two of them began to club the Indians of the village and as I saw that these people offered no resistance and a peaceful Indian of the village had been felled with a club, then *I ordered a shot fired, to frighten them, and from this shot two of them were wounded; they soon died* after one day.
> I sent immediately for help to the Commandante of the Fort of São Gabriel, of fifteen armed units for my defense, which arrived in fifteen days over the great distance. However, the *malvados gentios* escaped to the woods to their dwelling-places and all remained in tranquility.... (Cordeiro-Presidente, 7/1/53, *AA*, I, 3:59)

Cordeiro, however, did not state and consequently distorted the reasons for the Carapaná attack. Padre de Bene, who was at Carurú Rapids at the time of the 1853 attack, wrote a few months afterwards, that "there was no other motive for it than the deaths and captures /*pegas*/ that happened last year" (*Ibid.*).

For two years before, the scientific travellers Wallace and Spruce were on the Vaupés, Wallace first in mid-1851, later in March-April, 1852; and Spruce from August, 1852, on. Wallace lived in Cubeo villages around the Cuduiary River, making collections (hoping to find a rare white umbrella-bird) and just when his inquiries seemed to be reaching an end, he received word from a river merchant by the name of Chagas (whose home was on the Rio Negro and who definitely was an associate of Cordeiro's, as well as being a convicted criminal) that Cordeiro wished to purchase Wallace's canoe to go upriver. Cordeiro informed Wallace that the purpose of the trip was "the new Barra government had ordered him to bring all the Tushauas or chiefs, of the Uaupés and Issana Rivers to Barra to receive diplomas and presents" (Wallace, 1853: 250). Wallace refused to sell his only canoe and thereby offended Lieutenant Jesuino.

When Wallace left the upper Vaupés, he noted while passing through Cubeo and Wanano villages that everyone had gone, there was not a person around to hire as canoe-men. The reason then became clear, as Cordeiro's plea was revealed as a half-truth:

> Messrs. Chagas and Jesuino have taken all men with them up the river, to assist in an attack on an Indian tribe, the "Carapanás" where they hoped to get a lot of women, boys and children to take as presents to Barra. (Ibid.: 251)

Proceeding only to Carurú Rapids, Wallace waited a week and then on April 4, 1852, Chagas, Cordeiro and the others returned,

> with a whole fleet of canoes and upwards of twenty prisoners, all but one, women and children. Seven men and one woman had been killed; the rest of the men escaped; but only one of the attacking party was killed. The man was kept bound and the women

> and children well-guarded and every morning and evening they were all taken down to the river to bathe. At night there was abundance of caxiri /beer/ and cachaça drunk in honour of the new-comers and all the inhabitants assembled in the great house. (Ibid.: 252)

Next morning, the party proceeded on its way, Cordeiro exasperating Wallace by taking all the canoe-men available with him to Barra, leaving Wallace to drift on downstream afterwards.

It seems clear that the Carapaná were the objects of attack in the early 1850's. Da Bene seems to have rightly attributed their vengeance assault on Cordeiro a year later to these persecutions which Wallace and Spruce observed. As the Hohodene tell it, the massacre of the Mölé-dakénai took place at Jurupary House, where they were tied up and shot and "not a single one was saved," but prisoners were taken to the Rio Negro. A few of these prisoners were chiefs, such as Keroaminali of the Hohodene, Dthamaate of the Ingá-people, and Balento of the Kadapolithana. Thus Cordeiro's pretext of the sending of the chiefs to receive "diplomas" seems to be reflected in the Hohodene saying that in Barcellos (many say Manaus) white people "wrote on paper." Finally, another detail is the drinking of beer and cachaça along the way, which recalls the Hohodene saying that they drank "sweet stuff" during their journey to the Rio Negro.

Both Wallace and Spruce had unknowingly stepped into a very tricky situation, while they continued observing, collecting, and making valuable notes for this history. The story is complicated by the role of native chiefs in these attacks on the Carapaná/Mölé-dakénai, for it turns out that they were acting as middlemen in the raids and had been doing so for awhile before Wallace and Spruce were there. Hohodene say that Tariana were involved in the war of retribution; indeed, this comes through clearly in what Wallace observed in mid-1851, on his first trip to the Vaupés. While in São Jeronymo, a Tariana settlement on the lower Vaupés (at or below Ipanoré Rapids), Wallace and a friend/merchant named Lima were observing a dance-festival. The following incident occurred:

> During the dance, Bernardo, an Indian of São Jeronymo, arrived from the Rio Apaporis. Senhor L. had sent a message to him by his son (who had come with us) to procure some Indian boys and girls for him, and he now came to talk over the business. The procuring consists in making an attack on some malocca of another nation, and capturing all that do not escape or are not killed. Senhor L. has frequently been on these expeditions, and has had some narrow escapes from lances and poisoned arrows. At Ananárapicóma there was an Indian dreadfully scarred all over one shoulder and part of his back, the effects of a discharge of B.B. shot which Senhor L. had given him, just as he was in the act of turning with his bow and arrow: they are now excellent friends, and do business together. The "negociantes" and authorities in Barra and Pará, ask the traders among the Indians to procure a boy or girl for them, well knowing the only manner in which they can be obtained; in fact, the Government in some degree authorise the practice. There is something to be said too in its favour, for the Indians make war on each other,--principally the natives of the margin of the river on those in the more distant igaripés, --for the sake of their weapons and ornaments, and for revenge of any injury, real or imaginary, and then kill all they can, reserving only some young girls for their wives. The hope of selling them to the traders, however, induces them to spare many who would otherwise be murdered. These are brought up to some degree of civilisation (though I much doubt if they are better or happier than in their native forests), and though at times ill-treated, they are free, and can leave their masters whenever they like, which, however, they seldom do when taken very young.

> Senhor L. had been requested by two parties at Barra--one the Delegado de Policia--to furnish them each with an Indian girl, and this man was an old hand at the business, he was now agreeing with him, furnishing him with powder and shot--for he had a gun--and giving him some goods, to pay other Indians for assisting him and to do a little business at the same time if he had the opportunity. He was to return at the furthest in a fortnight, and we were to wait for him in São Jeronymo. (Wallace, 1853: 206-7)

The Tariana chief Bernardo was then making a raid on the "Carapaná" in 1851. Two years later, Spruce wrote to Wallace in July that this same Bernardo, who was in fact a notorious raider, worked for Jesuino's friend Chagas and was still engaged in expeditions to the upper Papury River to steal children (Spruce, 1908: 329-30). Lieutenant Jesuino in fact reported to the President in July of 1853 that the chief Bernardo (or João de Mattos) went to the headwaters of the Papury River, captured ten Carapaná children, and returned with them to São Jeronymo. Despite his inquiries, however, Cordeiro says he never succeeded in finding the ten children (Cordeiro-Presidente, 7/5/53 and 8/28/53, AA, I, 3: 66). If Spruce's observation is correct, however, these ten children were taken by merchants to the forts of São José de Marabitanas and to Barra. In short, Cordeiro and Chagas were using the pretext of getting "Carapaná" to come from the woods to receive cartas de patente in Barra, to support an otherwise illegal but condoned system of pegas in which the chiefs of the Tariana especially were contracted as middlemen. The military and merchants themselves were acting as suppliers for the provincial government or their representatives. Throughout the mid-nineteenth Century, the military, merchants and missionaries participated directly in the raids, which were also known as "agarramentos" (catches). Lieutenant Jesuino Cordeiro was but one among *many* who were then getting in on the action. The tragic part of the story is that children were the object of capture, sale or trade, and this seems to be one variation of slavery which the people of the upper regions knew quite well. Spruce observed astutely in 1853:

> The *fazendas reaes* have disappeared and the Brazilian government has promulgated edicts against the seizing of the native inhabitants and reducing them to slavery, yet the practice still exists and is carried out. I speak of this with certainty, because since I came up the Rio Negro two such expeditions have been sent up a tributary of the Uaupés, called the Rio Papury to make *pegas* among the Carapaná Indians.... I have also seen and conversed with two female children stolen from the Carapaná in these expeditions.... (1908: 355)

Raiding for children is emphasized in the Hohodene oral tradition as well. Mokoali, the Mölé-dakénai chief took a "white man's child" but was it not an exchange for the children who had been lost or massacred? And in lines 37-43, which have to do with a child capture and child escape, was this not the same as the Tariana attacks?

Wallace, probably being persuaded by the merchant Lima, too hastily accepted the "favours" of this system, or remained ambivalent about them. The causes of native warfare, he states, were the desires for weapons and ornaments, and indeed, he made note of a Tariana chief named Calisto of Jauareté who had a wealth of these ornaments of Jaguar-teeth collars. The Hohodene oral tradition states that they lost their ceremonial ornaments in São Miguel, all their jaguar-teeth collars as well. Tariana were carrying on wars against the Carapaná in order to get the prized ornaments as well as to obtain children to sell to the Portuguese.

Usually these children would be made to work in the houses of the military as domestic servants. To be sure, they may have received instruction or have been raised by humanitarian individuals, but more often than not, they were permanently uprooted and bound as servants to whomever they were sold. Spruce saw two Carapaná girls at São José de Marabitanas who were victims of this raiding. Frei Gregorio, José Maria de Bene saw in March of 1852 that Cordeiro had a direct hand in supplying the military with children: "the Directors of these rivers take advantage of their authority to fill their houses (including by the use of violence) of Indians to serve them almost gratuitously" (De Bene-Presidente, 4/24/52, AA, I, 3: 37-8).

It is clear that in the nineteenth Century, the officials were accustomed to doing this, that people of the Vaupés and Içana Rivers were being victimized, but that the worst treatment was given to the people who raided white settlements. This meant especially the "Maku" and the Carapaná. Still another part of the picture is the forced labor of adults, which we shall consider in the following section. Forced labor went on well before the 1850's, but it reached a high state of abuse in this time.

After the raid, the Hohodene were taken to three settlements on the Rio Negro: São Miguel (slightly above São Gabriel), Carma on the Cauabory River, and Barcellos (although many narrators stated that they were ultimately taken to Barra or Manaus). In the 1850's, São Miguel was an infrequently used annex to the fort of São Gabriel. Prisoners were kept there, but it could not have been more than a few poorly constructed houses, because more often than not, the prisoners escaped from the house and by the early 1860's, São Miguel was abandoned.

Carma on the Cauabory River was once the location of a mission. Jesuino Cordeiro even had a house near the river, at Cabory Rapids. The river was known by all merchants at the time as a place extremely rich in forest-products, in the extraction of which native peoples of the Vaupés and Içana were being taken to work (AA, I, 2: 25). Barcellos, of course, had once been the capitol villa of the province, but in the 1850's, it was no more than a ghost town as A.R. Wallace described:

> Now depopulated and almost deserted, on the shore lie several blocks of marble, brought from Portugal for some public buildings which were never erected. The line of old streets are now paths through a jungle where orange and other fruit-trees are mingled with tall tropical weeds. The houses that remain are mostly ruinous mud-huts, with here and there one more neatly finished and white-washed. (1853: 136)

Yet the Government of Barra kept officials there who minimally watched all traffic of goods or people going upriver or downriver. Periodically, there were attempts to revitalize schooling at Barcellos. But the population of the villa remained small and the life seemingly stagnant, until a decade later when rubber-working grew in importance and made Barcellos a thriving villa (Gurjão, in Relatorios, I: 431-2; A.C.F. Reis, 1931: 215-6).

There were probably many reasons for Barcellos' lack of prosperity, one being the periodic epidemics which most villas on the Rio Negro suffered. In the time about which we are presently concerned, there were several reported epidemics. In 1852, the missionary Pe. José dos Santos Inocentes, wrote of the Rio Negro: "This year this river was in a poisoned state; many people died of malign fevers and of measles ... there is no one here who understands medicine. Thus will end the rest of the people of the Rio Negro" (AA, I, 2: 27; original letter from Inocentes to

Conego de Azevedo, 3/6/52). Later, in 1855-6 and 1857, a Major Gurjão and the President of the Province both reported yellow fever and cholera had reached epidemic proportions on the Rio Negro and attributed them to severe annual flooding which had caused all vegetable gardens to rot, thus harboring the diseases (Gurjão, 1855; Relatorios, I: 20).

It seems plausibe that while Hohodene and their kin were in Barcellos or Barra, these epidemics were raging and thus they state that "their sons had sickness and ran in fear." That the sons would return to the Castelhanos (line 73) reflects another set of problems which appear consistently in the documents, that of "emigration" of native peoples from the Rio Negro to Venezuela, where life seemed to offer something more and qualitatively better than on the Rio Negro. This became an important focus in the rebellions of the late 1850's.

The stated reason for Keroaminali's flight from Barcellos, however, was that their attachment to their villages had been severed. Beyond their receipt of a "paper," a document or title, which meant very little and had cost so much, there was no use in staying on the Rio Negro, where life meant no more than drinking cachaça, being plagued by sickness, fear and other "wars." They returned without their elder brothers and lived in the territory of other people, Inga-people and Kadapolithana. The emphasis given in line 80, "ONLY ONE LIKE SO" suggests that Hohodene considered their sib virtually on the point of non-viability ("Keroaminali danced alone," as many narrators said) or near-extinction. Alternately, the expression may be taken to mean that their phratry had lost the coherence of the pre-war and pre-descent days. But I think that the most likely interpretation is that the Hohodene withdrew from participation in river life to live in the forest. In view of the difficulties of living on the Içana and Vaupés in the late 1850's, and the fact that many people besides themselves were seeking refuge in the forest, as I shall presently discuss, this is the most likely interpretation of the expression.

II.D.3: Forced Labor, Exploiting Merchants and the Hohodene Rebellion

> It is not possible to undertake with probability of success any attempt at organization of aldeias at the most important points, like those at the frontiers with foreign countries, for whose forests the tribes are entering at the least displeasure, almost always because of the abuses which the various supervisors commit, in the name of the Governor and under the pretext of public services, thereby making the idea of authority hateful among the Indians, instead of instilling what it ought to be, protective and beneficent. (First Vice-President, Manuel Gomes Correa de Miranda, Exposição feita..., 12 março, 1857, in Relatorios, I)

> Then there came a white man and lived for awhile with the Hohodene and Oalipere. He made a canoe, like a merchant. He said to the people one day: "You have to move from here; here it's very poor. You must go to the Rio Negro." They made much farinha de mandioca and went down the Quiary River, while the white man went on to São Gabriel. "What shall we do?" they asked their kin, "Do you want to go with our enemy?" "No, I have a lot of work to do here," said one. "No," said another, "he wants to finish us off." Then they parted ways, to three villages on the Aiary.... (Hohodene oral history)

Brutal raids such as those conducted against the Mölé-dakénai were not isolated instances in the 1850's. While the merchants kept people in debt, and the military conducted "catches" of people in the forest, both of them together tried to persuade chiefs to go out and seize people for work in public service programs. When the Indians began to rebel against such abusive treatment, the government at Barra tried to put a halt on sacking the Indian villages by urging Directors to use only peaceful means to recruit Indian laborers.

Then, in 1854-5, the Government promoted the construction of new forts on the Upper Rio Negro and tried to make Indian people descend the rivers to work as laborers, under the public-service program, on the construction of the new forts. The military used several merchants to help them get this task done, while the military policed the area. The merchants obtained laborers and were protected by the military at the same time.

The Baniwa people were affected by this "public-service" program more than any other people in the region. One caboclo merchant, named Francisco Gonçalves Pinto, was contracted by the Commander of the Fort of Marabitanas, Joaquim Firmino Xavier, in 1857-9, to persuade large numbers of Baniwa to descend the Içana River to help in constructing the new fort on the Upper Rio Negro called Cucui. The Hohodene and the Oalipere of the Aiary River were people whom Pinto knew especially well, for he lived in several of their villages. In 1856-8, Pinto tried to make numbers of Hohodene descend the river to the Rio Negro in order to work at Cucui, but they refused to do so. The Hohodene remember these events in their oral history. I shall present the final segment of this history and interpret it by comparing with the documentary sources of 1857-9. This segment recounts how a merchant, who is both a Baré and a white man, tried to make Hohodene descend the river to the Rio Negro, and their refusal to do so.

Hohodene Oral History, Part III (Conclusion)

Then this Baré goes to live, there he goes to live at *Pithiriwali*.

He stays.

With them, the Calipere-dakenai.

They stay...

On...

The Baré made a house, there.

(A Baré) A Baré, what was his name?

From the Vaupés, it seems.

"Oh it is lacking here, so poor it is here" he says.

"Let's go." He shows them how to throw out the war-making things.

"So poor it is here, let's go, there is nothing... nothing."

They made *farinha*,

He joined everyone and then went to São Gabriel below,

"All of you," he says, "Alright," they say.

They descend from the Quiary headwaters... to the Quiary mouth.

They tie their canoes up there

Puuu' with *farinha*

They accompanied the white man, K'hu, to Dakadakale [near Quiary mouth]

Mayanali's village is there [an elder brother of the Hohodene]

They sought to have food there,

He called them: "Hey, younger brother, younger brother, let's drink *patchiaka* [*farinha* and water]

He called one who arrives,

He calls another who arrives,

Their canoes are arriving.

"What is this pain?" he says, "Thus it was in the same way with our ancestors,

"They wanted to kill and throw away our ancestors, we lost everyone and there is no Hohodene chief, "How are your hearts?"

"MMMMmm, yes," says one man, "I truly have much work to do I tell you,

"I am putting up my house I tell you, I have my garden to work on, and all my plants, everything I am working on, so much work do I have,

"I do not want to go."

"How then?"

"You go alone, so much work do I have..."

"So good is my garden that I am making..."

"So it seems," he says.

"It comes truly for us to go our separate ways," he says,
"You younger brothers

"You younger brothers, we part our separate ways."

"I truly go," says this, Raimundo's ancestor,

To the Mirití stream.

"I truly go," another says, and went to... to Santaré.

"I truly go," says another, but they could not--

They went to Tsūrūali-numána, on the Uaraná stream.

Three of them stayed.

They made big houses...

Already, the others returned in descent.

There, the Baré went below.

Our parting, thus we began long ago.

They lived on the Quiary River again...

They killed people again...

Until a long time after.

Today everyone!

Not a single one is left on the Quiary, only one Maalipe, a Hohodene chief.

Our story... of the Hohodene...

SOOOOOOOOO, That is the end of it all, it is done,

Of our People....

(End, Part III)

In late 1853, the President of the Province, Herculano Penna, grew increasingly worried over the continued emigration of native peoples from the Rio Negro region into Venezuela, and more generally, the free navigation and passage across the borders between the two countries. Between the Brazilian forts of Marabitanas and São Gabriel, various connecting tributaries allowed easy passage, and Penna, aware of the problems of free navigation, decided to increase control of the borders. He sent Major Hilário Gurjão on a reconnaissance expedition to the frontier in 1854. Gurjão was assigned to mark a location near the hill of Cucui (above Marabitanas) for the construction of a barracks, and to see that such construction began. The Brazilian border would then be solidly protected at Cucui, Marabitanas, São Gabriel, and São Marcellino, at the mouth of the Xié River.[34]

Gurjão recommended to the President that Marabitanas was already far too populated and that any new military sent to the URN region should be settled at Cucui. On the basis of Gurjão's recommendation, further plans were made for the construction of the new fort.[35]

The officer assigned to take charge of the construction of the Fort of Cucui was Captain Joaquim Firmino Xavier (see Table on the following page for the names and functions of all personnel mentioned in this chapter). Xavier was determined to make good use of his previous experience with Indian peoples in the construction of forts. His previous military service included some time in Pernambuco, where he was involved in putting down rebellions; some years as the Commander of the Fort of Macapá; and service at two other frontier forts, including Tabatinga (Avé-Lallemant, Vol. 2, Cap. IV: 120. Xavier, or hereafter JFX,

Table of Personnel
Officials, Missionaries, and Merchants: 1855-9

A. Military

1) Lieutenant Commander Felisberto Antonio Correa de Araujo: Commander of the Fort of Marabitanas and Director of Indians in charge of the Içana River, 1855-6

2) Captain Mathias Viera d'Aguiar: Commander of the Fort of Marabitanas and São Gabriel, temporary replacement of Araujo, 1856?-9

3) Captain Joaquim Firmino Xavier: in charge of the military works at the Fort of Cucui, 1857-9, and Partial Director of Indians of the Içana

4) Captain Francisco Gonçalves Pinheiro: Commander of a military detachment at Xibarú, on the Rio Negro; ex-Commander of São Gabriel

5) José Ignacio Cardozo: Director of Indians, Rio Uaupés, 1858

B. Missionaries

1) Frei Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo: Capuchin missionary on the Vaupés and Içana Rivers, 1857-9

2) Frei Manuel de Sta. Ana Salgado: Capuchin Vicar at São Gabriel, 1855-76

C. Merchants

1) Manuel Francisco Gonçalves Pinto: Merchant on the Içana, Xié and Vaupés for twelve or more years (1846?-58); unofficial supervisor of Indians on the Içana under JFX, 1857-8

2) Vicente José Rodrigues: see endnote 36, this section

3) Manuel Joaquim: Merchant who worked primarily among Baniwa, resident at Nossa Senhora da Guia, 1830's-60

Others include João Antonio de Lima (friend of A.R. Wallace) who worked primarily on the Vaupés; Francisco Chagas, again on the Vaupés; and José and Nicolau Palheta, of whom more will be said in section 6.

D. Government Personnel

1) Doutor Marcos Antonio Rodrigues de Sousa: the Municipal Justice and Delegate of Police. Assigned by the President of Amazonas, José Furtado, in 1858 to investigate the messianic movements and rebellions on the Upper Rio Negro.

was a good friend of Avé-Lallemant. Two key documents were written by Xavier himself. The first is in *Archivo do Amazonas*, I, 4: 111-25. The second is in Avé-Lallemant, *Ibid*.: 120-35. They are written twelve months apart and are key sources on the millenial movements.). With this experience, Xavier seemed to be an ideal person to work on the Rio Negro Fort of Cucui. Xavier himself was convinced that he could "make a great descimento" of Baniwa from the Içana and Xié Rivers, precisely for this purpose (Avé-Lallemant, *op. cit.*). On arriving in Marabitanas in late 1857, however, Xavier saw immediately that there were difficulties which would complicate his intentions. In one of the first letters Xavier wrote in October, he describes these difficulties:

> All the Indians have fled and gone to the woods or fled to Venezuela for the bad treatment they have received and for the miniscule daily wage they are paid; the soldiers here located for ten to fifteen years, married and kin to the Indians, are little accustomed to service and have already lost their military habits; they are insolent and insubordinate. (JFX-Amaral, 10/27/57; Correspondencia dos Ministerios da Guerra, "Amazonas Relatorio" No. 10, 1858)

The daily wage for labor was, in Xavier's view, the lowest form of exploitation. The workers were paid the equivalent of 100 *reis* per day ($.10?) for heavy labor, and one portion of farinha for food. No one would work at such a low rate, as Xavier put it quite succinctly:

> In this place where everything is very scarce and expensive, there is no Indian worker who wants to be subjected to work in cutting lumber and other services for the daily wage of 100 reis, for they say that they need to work three months to buy clothes which don't last twenty days in service work and thus it happens.... (*Ibid*.)

Coupled with the exploitation of labor was the abusive treatment of Indians by the Directors. The Director at Marabitanas during the time of Frei de Bene's travels died in 1855 or 1856, and a Captain Mathias Vieira de Aguiar was his replacement. Captain Mathias was a person about whom the documents paint the grimmest of pictures. In fact, in June, 1858, Mathias was formally accused by the Subdelegate of Police, the Justice of Peace and other officials, of "having committed violence and abuses of authority." The specific charges were as follows: 1) Mathias had bought a large canoe for the purpose of conducting commerce, manned by the soldiers of his own detachment; 2) Mathias had opened a house of commerce where he sold goods for exorbitant prices and did not keep good faith in his transactions; 3) Mathias had ordered a military detachment to the Piraiuara Stream, on the lower Içana, where a total sack of Indian villages was committed; 4) Mathias had ordered people beaten who did not wish to serve him and committed other practices of violence during his command of the detachments of Marabitanas and São Gabriel (a full statement of these charges is given in AA, II, 7: 82-3). Aguiar was not found guilty, however, because proof was lacking on several counts. The only other report of the case states that Aguiar was relieved of his command and transferred to a post on the Rio Branco in 1858, being replaced at São Gabriel by Verissimo José dos Santos Lima ("Estrella do Amazonas", No. 296: June 2, 1858).

The third charge is most important for it refers to a scandalous raid of the Baniwa by the military in November, 1857, which truly caused the flight of several hundred Baniwa, Tukano and other people from the URN. In brief preview of the story which is told in full detail in sections 5 and 6 below, millenarian activity was reported on the Içana River in 1857. The movements were being led by a mestiço woodsawyer named Venancio, who was originally from Venezuela. Venancio came to the Içana River, employed by the merchant Carlos Bueno of Marôa. While on the Içana, Venancio purchased a quantity of goods from the merchant Francisco Gonçalves Pinto, who was then living with Hohodene and Oalipere at a village called São José do Arara on the Içana River. Venancio was in deep debt to Pinto, to Bueno and to one other Venezuelan merchant, Francisco Pina of San Carlos. Venancio had a sickness and with it visions. He began to preach and prophecy at Santa Ana de Cuiary, a village at the mouth of the Cuiary River. He held ritual "reunions" in which he prophesied according to his doctrine, baptized, pardoned debts, and made marriages much like a Catholic priest would. Soon Venancio's reunions attracted the attention of the outside authorities. The Vicar of São Gabriel went to the Içana and threatened Venancio with imprisonment.

Then, in November, 1857, dance-festivals were held at Piraiuara Stream on the lower Içana. Three old people conducted ceremonies, administering sacraments of baptism and marriage. Captain Mathias sent a large detachment of soldiers, commanded by a Cadete Manuel Raymundo de Araújo to the Piraiuara Stream. On November 23, 1857, they arrived and surprised a festival which was in progress. They brutally sacked the maloca, killed chickens and pigs, took all the best handmade goods they could find, and three prisoners as well--the old people who called themselves Padre Santo, Santa Maria and São Lourenco. Several other villages on the lower Içana were sacked along the way also (AA, I, 3: 62-3; I, 4: 111-25; II, 5: 11-15; 7: 82-90). The military force then terrorized the population by leaving a rumor that a second force was on its way to kill everybody. Predictably, large numbers of people from the Vaupés, Içana and Xié Rivers, and the upper Rio Negro, fled in fear to the woods, across the border to Venezuela, or to inaccessible parts of the upper backwater regions. Fear prevailed. The three old people were then taken with their possessions to Marabitanas and later sent to Manaus to do "public service" work. The three of them were found to be suffering from sickness: the elder man had a hernia, while the other two suffered from seizures and heart pain.

When Joaquim Firmino Xavier began a journey to the Içana River in late November, he intended to collect population statistics, to "join the dispersed Indians," to bring them to work at the new forts, and to find out about the individuals seized in Captain Mathias' raid (AA, I, 3: 62). The statistics on the population which Xavier collected contrast dramatically with the previous population figures recorded in 1856. Out of a total of 600 Baniwa living in eleven villages in 1856, Xavier encountered almost no one at all. Xavier met no more than two dozen people during a journey which went to very near the headwaters of the Içana River. Further, Xavier was told by everyone he met that Mathias was returning with a second force to kill everyone. Most dramatically, the very large settlement at Tunui Rapids (seventy-six people in 1856, living in fourteen houses) had been completely burned to the ground ("reduzido à cinzas") by the inhabitants who had fled to Venezuela, to the woods, or to the upriver tributaries where they were inaccessible (AA, I, 4: 115).

Xavier stayed on the mainstream throughout the journey, not visiting any of the major tributaries. He ordered the few Baniwa he met to go to the woods and gardens, wherever their kin might be in hiding, and make them return to the village and await his return. Baniwa did not respond automatically because there were compelling reasons to refuse. As one chief of the village at Jandú Falls near the mouth of the Aiary told Xavier:

> His people still do not want to leave the woods, for they are afraid and do not believe in promises, because already many white men have walked there and among them was a Captain Pinheiro and a Lieutenant Cordeiro who deceived with promises and after tied them up and killed many, taking their children for slaves. (AA, I, 4:122)

Xavier pleaded with this chief that "it was the order of the Governor and they have nothing to fear" (Ibid.: 123).

The Baniwa who did reunite in the villages for Xavier's return voyage were assured that no further persecutions would take place in his administration. Then they were ordered to do the following: clean up the villages, put up new chapels, make new houses for authorities to live in, make cemeteries, and send laborers for the public works at Cucui. At the end of Xavier's journey, he reports having taken twenty-five people with him in descent to begin the works at Cucui (out of a total of 200 Baniwa whom Xavier actually succeeded in meeting), and he made arrangements for them to be replaced after three months. Xavier concluded the report of his journey with a surprisingly optimistic message to the President:

> The Government can make great use of these Indians and I promise to populate all the banks of the river and supply Manaus with farinha and other products without the Governor tieing up any money nor making the smallest expense; it is only necessary that you keep me for some time so that I can execute the "Regulamento das Aldeias." (Ibid.: 125)

Xavier could not have realized this aim without the aid of merchants. There were three currently working among Baniwa on the Içana and tributaries: Manuel Joaquim, Francisco Gonçalves Pinto and Vicente Rodrigues. Rodrigues lived near São Gabriel (a village called "Carapaná"); Pinto travelled widely, up to the Inírida River in Venezuela, but his principal base for operations (making merchant canoes, etc.) was at São José de Arara, among Oalipere-dakenai and Hohodene.

Pinto was the most useful of the three merchants for Xavier's purposes. He had lived for a dozen years on the Içana; he knew the villages and locations of hidden malocas well; and he was a caboclo (mixed white and Baré descent) who spoke geral and probably Baniwa. Pinto helped Xavier reunite the Baniwa during the journey to the headwaters in November, 1857. He had been a ready and willing assistant to previous Directors of Indians as well. Therefore, Xavier named Pinto as a Supervisor and allowed him to continue selling his merchandise on the Içana River, in return for which Pinto would supply Xavier with goods he needed, with Baniwa laborers for public service, and farinha de mandioca (JFX-Presidente, AA, I, 4: 17). Pinto was the only merchant who was allowed to work on the Içana during Xavier's administration, for Xavier made it extremely difficult for the other two to continue.[36]

Pinto was allowed to use whatever means he saw fit to obtain laborers; this could mean raiding villages, as he had done in the past:

> Many raids on gentios have been done but if we consider... only those of the past two years /1856-8/ there are no notices if not of the skirmishes of Manuel Francisco Gonçalves Pinto on the Içana and the raid last done by order of the ex-Director Cardoso. ("Pegas dos Macús", in "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858")

Pinto was assisted by the National Guard, which was present in small numbers on the Içana River during this time. In early March, 1858, four National Guard were sent to the Içana to help Pinto build a merchant's canoe. The Guards ordered an Indian youth named Manuel Ricardo to help in the work. Ricardo was on his way to São Gabriel and could not work for the soldiers. Thereupon the soldiers threatened him and struck him with a weapon. At that point, several people, including the parents of the youth, fled to the woods. Later that year, the parents filed a complaint to the Municipal Justice (Doc. 52, "Complaint of José Gomes and Joanna Bazia to Municipal Justice", 7/25/58; "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858").

In March/April, 1858, Xavier reported to the President that Baniwa were already returning to their villages, that several new villages had been made, and that workers were coming to help with the Fort of Cucui. Things in general were "prospering" (JFX-Presidente Furtado, 1/4/58, AA, II, 5: 17). It is questionable how true this was. In July, 1858, a Captain Pinheiro, who accompanied the Municipal Justice in his visit to the URN region, reported a very different impression of the Baniwa. Pinheiro went on a journey up the Içana River as far as Santa Ana de Cuiary and along the way he met several Baniwa chiefs. The chiefs voiced nothing but bitter complaints against Xavier and Pinto. One party of Baniwa whom Pinheiro met on the lower river was on its way to Marabitanas, "with three canoes, laden with farinha, pitch, manioc-scrapers, baskets, and six Indians for the public service at Cucui, and at the same time to pay off the debt they had with Captain Joaquim Firmino Xavier, arising out of some cloth they had bought from him" (Pinheiro-Municipal Justice, 8/3/58, Doc. No. 30, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858").

In fact, the Baniwa villages had not improved; most were still abandoned. Pinheiro, for instance, stopped in Carmo, a village on the lower Içana, where a chief complained to him bitterly about Xavier and Pinto. The chief's statement reveals a great deal of the suffering and oppression of the Baniwa in this time:

> The chief went on then to complain against Captain Firmino, the partial Director, about whom he had nothing to say at first, but presently he had become a tyrant to him and his subordinates. He did not pay people capably, that for two months of work in the Works of Cucuy, he only gave one pair of pants of heavy american cloth and four ells (three yards) of the same cloth for a shirt, that after prohibiting the entrance of merchants on the river, they almost walked nude, they had no iron tools to work, they did not have a fishhook to kill the hunger of their children; finally, they were in the final stage of misery, and they asked your Excellency to look on them with charity and that you let merchants go there to sell their merchandise to them... Manuel Francisco Gonçalves Pinto had prosecuted a raid on their villages, he robbed the best of what they had; for one alqueire of farinha, he sold a cup of salt, for two alqueires he gave a yard of american cloth, and finally, in sum, Pinto only wished to deceive them. (Ibid.)[37]

Xavier's claim of "prosperity" among the Baniwa was patently false. There was almost no improvement in the villages and the Baniwa were more deeply in debt than before, with additional demands made on their labor and their capacity to endure. By late 1858, however, Xavier was forced to change his story about prosperity because he realized that Baniwa would not return to their villages, they would not send workers to the Fort, nor would they provide farinha. In fact, throughout 1858, Baniwa were engaged in a rebellion against the white man's authority. This rebellion was characterized by a persistent withdrawal into the forest, and a refusal to serve or to be governed. Xavier himself remarked of the Baniwa on the Aiary River and Içana, in late 1858, that "they don't want to be governed by anyone." (See sections 4 and 5, below, for complete discussion and references.) Whenever a white official appeared on the Içana River, Baniwa fled into the woods. They lived at the headwaters of small streams and often blocked access to their settlements by cutting large trees at the entrances. Even if persistent pleas were made to reunite on the main banks of the river, Baniwa responded with such things as "only with violence could they be made to return from the forests" (Chief of Carmo, quoted in Xavier's Report, Avé-Lallemant, Vol. 2, Cap. 4). And even if they built new villages on the Içana, the forest settlements served as a place of refuge, as they had in the days of slaving in the eighteenth Century, and as they did in 1900 when other abusive white military officers terrorized the region.

The Hohodene and Oalipere of the Aiary River and its tributaries participated in this rebellion. In the oral history, cited above, a merchant Baré lived on the Içana River among Oalipere. He was both a "white man" (line 28) and a Baré; that is, he was a caboclo, like Pinto. His associations were in São Gabriel, like the merchants we have been discussing. This merchant told the Hohodene that their lives were "poor" (line 9). This can be interpreted in terms of debt. The merchant was trying to make the Hohodene descend the river to the Rio Negro, by using rhetoric about their "poverty" to persuade them to move to a richer place. He told them to make farinha (line 12), as Pinto did.

There are indications in the documents that Pinto used the Oalipere to try to persuade Hohodene to descend the river. In June of 1858, Pinto reported to Xavier that there were many malocas on the Aiary River, but the people refused to leave the Aiary to work at the forts (AA, I, 4: 123). Prior even to Xavier's arrival, a military official had sent Pinto on an expedition to the Aiary River "to look for Indians for service at Cucui"; in company with four Oalipere-dakenai of São José de Arara, the party went to a maloca where a dance-festival was in progress. According to what Xavier learned, the people then shot arrows, spears and lances and made Pinto and the others withdraw (JFX-Municipal Justice, Doc. No. 42, 6/24/58, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858").

In the oral history, there was a meeting of the Hohodene sib at the mouth of the Quiary River (lines 16+). Canoes laden with farinha and people arrived at Mayanali's village where they had a repast of farinha. It was a large gathering to consider whether they would follow the white man or not. They state their dilemma: "What is this pain?" (line 25), and reflect on the massacres of their ancestors by the white man. They had lost their chief who had saved them from near-extinction.

The Hohodene then refused to follow the white man because of the awareness of their own history. To follow the white man to the Rio Negro would risk a total sacrifice of the sib, they would be "finished off." It would mean a loss of their children, which the chief at Jandú

Falls had expressed to Xavier. Their positive decision and resolve was that their own work had greater meaning to them than the status of permanent servitude to the whites. The Hohodene decided that the work on their houses and gardens held far more promise than an illusion of prosperity on the Rio Negro. After all, in their experience on the Rio Negro, they had never known riches but in fact had been stripped of their rich cultural array of ornaments and dance-instruments!

We have not yet made mention of the missionaries, nor their roles in the URN at this time. Frei Manuel de Santa Ana Salgado was the vicar of São Gabriel and Marabitanas; and Padre Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo was the missionary on the Vaupés and Içana from 1857 on. Xavier saw both of them as threats to his administration; and so, by whatever means possible--including the most malicious slander printable--he tried to have them removed, particularly Frei Salgado whom he despised.[38]

In 1855, Salgado assumed the post of Vicar of São Gabriel. For several years, he visited the Içana, was known to have bought canoes from Pinto, and had a house at São Joaquim at the mouth of the Vaupés River. Salgado was known among the soldiers as an "homem do fogo." He got his hand in most of the political affairs of the region, and was not remiss at using his political connections in order to keep control over disturbances in the region. He had no respect for Xavier's authority, however, and did everything to undermine it--including spreading vicious rumors against Xavier.

Salgado was about as notorious for his licentiousness as Frei José dos Santos Inocentes, if not more so. Xavier wrote one of the most damaging lists of accusations against

Salgado, in which Xavier accused the Frei of such acts as: immoral acts on women of the Içana; sold cachaça; immoral acts against the residents of Barcellos; sold charitable items; borrowed exorbitantly from soldiers; demanded high payment from soldiers and Indians for making marriages and reciting litanies; demanded that dwellers register their lands and gardens, and pay a tax on each; and so on (Doc. No. 36 in "The Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858").

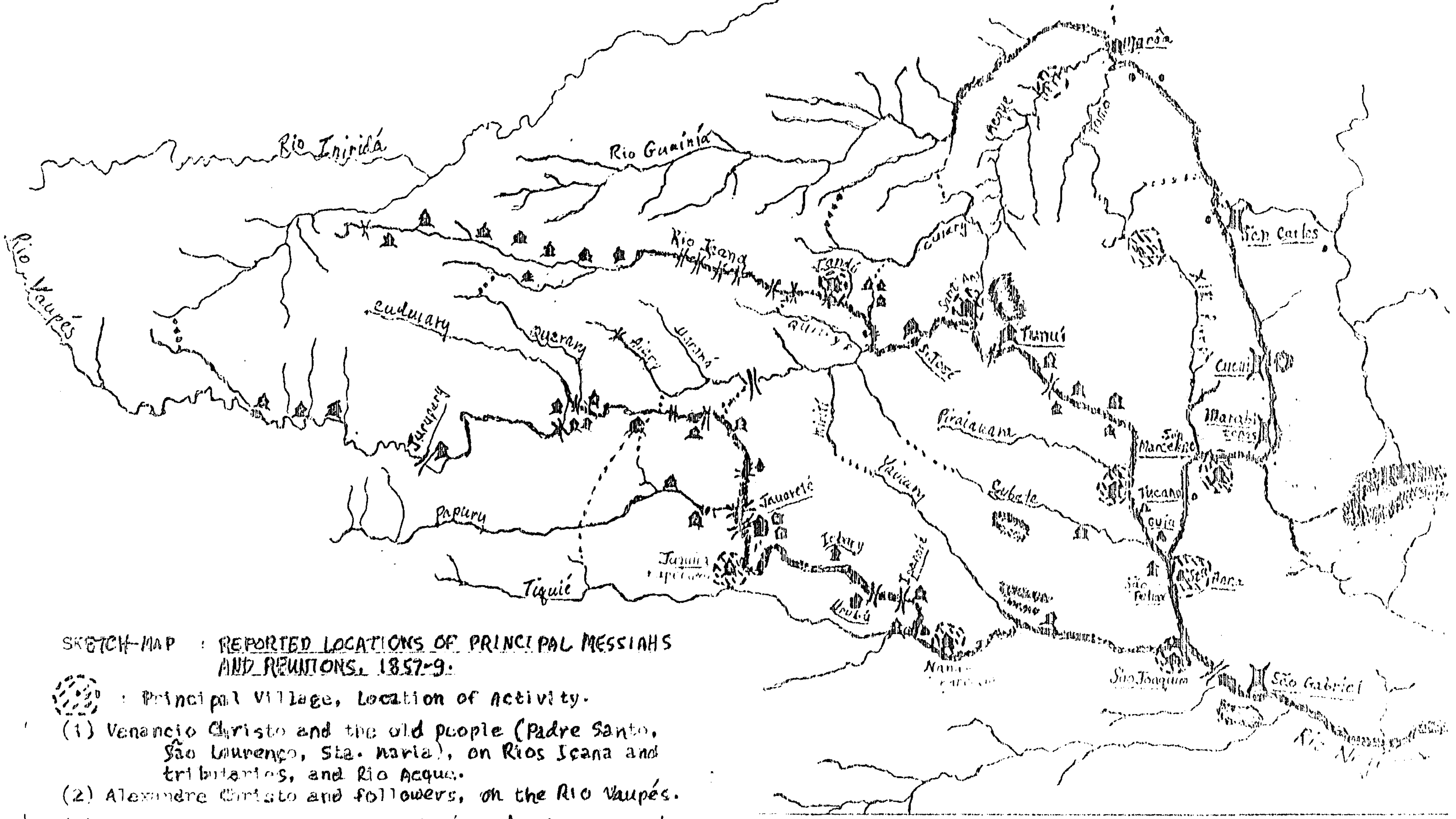
If half of the accusations against Salgado were true, there would be good reason to suggest that Salgado was an exacerbating factor in the discontent and conflicts on the Vaupés and Içana in this time. There may have been some bias in Xavier's charges, however. One outside observer, the Municipal Justice, concluded that:

> The struggle between these public functionaries /Salgado and Xavier/ was the cause of the uprising and confusion in which I found this section of the Rio Negro, and if it was not the occasion for the reunions of Alexandre Cristo on the Vaupés, it was unquestionably what facilitated them. (De Sousa-Presidente, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858")

II.D.4: The Millenarianism of Venancio Christo and the Rebellion on the Içana River

Very little is known about Venancio's early life, not even whether his natal village was San Carlos or Marôa. The Municipal Justice, Marcos de Sousa, describes Venancio as "um indio criado por um Don Arnáo, doutrineiro de San Carlos" (Leaf 43 in "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858"). Don Arnáo or Padre Arnaoud probably came from the upper Atabapo villages of Yavita and Balthasar. Between 1853 and 1857, Arnaoud must have gone to San Carlos to take up residence. Arnaoud's fame as a preacher had an immediate impact on the people of San Carlos and vicinity; to many of them who were burdened by extreme debt, Arnaoud's preaching of high morality, clean and orderly ways of living, and devotion to Christian rituals must have been very appealing.

Venancio was a wood cutter and in the early 1850's was employed by an official of the Comissary of San Carlos, Don Diego Pina (or Francisco Pina) (Spruce, 1908: 375). Venancio fell into debt with Pina for an unspecified amount of money and labor; as a result, he was threatened with prison and the stocks at San Carlos ("Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858"). Thus, he and perhaps Don Arnaoud left San Carlos for Marôa, where Venancio came into the employ of Carlos Bueno, the Indian Comissary. Bueno sent him to trade for merchandise on the Içana River, and he went via the Acque River, above Marôa, to a trail which connects to the Cuiary River and the Içana (see Map,


Rio Inirida
Rio Guainía
Rio Içana
Rio Vaupés
Maroa
San Carlos
Cucui
Marabitenas
São Marcelino
Tucano
Guia
São Felipe
Sta Ana
São Joaquim
São Gabriel
Tunuí
S. José
Tandú
Cuiary
Aiary
Querary
Cuduiary
Jurupary
Papury
Tiquié
Jauareté
Piraiauara
Cubate
Uaupés
Urubú
Ichary

SKETCH-MAP : REPORTED LOCATIONS OF PRINCIPAL MESSIAHS AND REUNIONS, 1857-9.

▨ : Principal Village, Location of Activity.

(1) Venancio Christo and the old people (Padre Santo, São Lourenço, Sta. Maria), on Rios Içana and tributaries, and Rio Acque.

(2) Alexandre Christo and followers, on the Rio Vaupés.

(3) Bazilio Melgueira, Claudio José, and others, on the Rio Negro and upper Xié.

following page) (AA, I, 4: 116; II, 5: 14). According to two reports (Ibid.), Venancio at some time bought a quantity of cloth from Pinto and became obliged to pay back his debt by cutting wood for canoes. We can imagine that Venancio's debt was overwhelming; coupled with the threat of prison at San Carlos and the demands of another merchant at Marôa, Venancio was in an impossible situation.

While on the Içana, he lived at Santa Ana de Cuiary, which was one of the largest villages of the Içana in 1856 (seventy six inhabitants) and which had been missionized by de Bene in 1853. It was a village of the Muriueni sib (or Akaiaká, "Children of the Sucuriú-snake") whose nearest neighbors were Oalipere, Hohodene at São José de Arara, and Jaguar-people at Tunui Rapids.

Not long after Venancio had been residing at Santa Ana de Cuiary, he began to preach to the people. The messages were taught much the same as Padre Arnaoud had probably preached to the Baré and the Venezuelan Baniwa. Venancio stood in the presence of a cross (or held one) and taught Christian messages or sang litanies in the house of the chief, while the Baniwa listened with great interest. What was especially striking and extraordinary about him was that Venancio suffered from a sickness known as catalepsy. (Two documents, by Xavier and de Sousa, state that it was "gota" or epilepsy, but from a description of the symptoms of Venancio's condition by Padre Romualdo, catalepsy seems to be more likely.) Catalepsy is a type of paralysis in which there is a loss of voluntary motion. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira described catalepsy on the Rio Negro in the 1780's, stating that "the body becomes rigid and immobile, the jaw bones and the teeth close together, convulsion is universal and sick people die if not treated by the appropriate remedy" (1885: 144). In the 1780's, the common treatment was "to heat the bed where the sick one lies and to repeatedly rub the sick person's body with wet cloths dipped in vinegar, ... giving the sick person to drink some of the same with lukewarm water or _aguardiente_" (_Ibid_.: 152-3).[39]

While he was at Santa Ana, Venancio's sickness transformed into a religious experience and it was _verbalized_ as such:

> One day he began to say that he had gone to heaven, had spoken with God, "_e outras asneiras semelhantes_," and the Indians believed him, above all when he had attacks of gota from which he suffered, for he said after that he had died and God had called him and ordered that he give orders so that no one should cut wood and that they should give him chickens, this or that pig, etc. and that he had orders to pardon the debts of those who gave him what he asked for. (JFX-Director dos Indios, 1/1/58, AA, I, 4: 116)

Padre Romualdo wrote a similar report, based on information which Salgado and Xavier had given him:

> Venancio took advantage of the state to which the attack of catalepsy reduced him to make believe that he had died, gone to heaven, spoken with God, and had the power to pardon sins. When he returned from the immobility in which he had found himself, he said that by the order of Deos, they /the Baniwa/ should give him this, that and the other object and the proportion that they went giving to him, he would dispense to each one, adding that he/she had been pardoned and that they not sin anymore. Preceding the hour of attack, he would announce it in order to be believed better. (Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo-Presidente Francisco José Furtado, 2/10/58, _AA_, II, 5: 14)

Venancio continued to experience the divine and to offer messages of redemption which were of great interest to the Baniwa. His fame soon spread down the Içana to the Rio Negro village of Marabitanas. The first group of Venancio's followers probably consisted of people who were familiar with the difficulties of debt-bondage, who were sympathetic to and marvelled by Venancio's sickness and survival, and who were respectful of a person who could offer a way for relieving other peoples' sufferings. Venancio immediately saw that people were on the look-out for a miraculous curer. The conviction in the validity of his experience became so strong that he began to call himself "Santo," later "Christo" and at one time "Deus." (There is no way of telling which came first. Probably he started with Deus and encountered disbelief and so switched to Santo or Christo, "the one who was sent from Christ." He ultimately settled on Christo, and became widely known as the "miracle-working Christ of the Içana.")[40]

Venancio's fame spread among the people from Marabitanas to Jandú Falls, on the Içana River. People of the Vaupés River soon came to hear about Venancio also, but the people who comprised the early following were certainly from nine or ten riverine villages on the Içana and URN: Marabitanas, São Marcellino, Guia, São Felippe, Santa Ana, Tucano-point, the Piraiuara villages, Tunui, Sta. Ana de Cuiary, and Jandú Falls. At least two hundred people knew of and came to see the Christo.

There are indications that Venancio's early followers considered themselves as part of a movement, and that certain followers accepted titles and positions within an organization. Venancio was proclaimed the leader and several others were sent as emissaries to teach in other villages of the Içana River. The three old people, mentioned above, were close followers of Venancio, and held titles of Padre Santo, Santa Maria and São Lourenço. The principal concerns in Venancio's message--relief from debt-bondage, liberation from sin, and curing from sickness--were bound to have a wide appeal. But Venancio's theology had to eliminate the source of the trouble at the same time as it ensured that large numbers of followers would participate collectively in salvation. Venancio thus resorted to one of the strongest messages which he knew would appeal to his kin at San Carlos and the Baniwa of the Içana. The Municipal Justice de Sousa found out in late 1858 that Venancio prophesied the end of the world and the final judgment by God:

> ...On the day of São João would be realized the prejudged invention of the end of the world by its burning and he gave as a reason, his descent there ... determined by God. (i.e., it would occur on June 24th, 1858) ("Objetos Diversos", Section III, Report of the Municipal Justice, 9/8/58.)

Venancio then organized large ritual gatherings in preparation for the great conflagration:

> From the general burning would be excepted the Rio Içana and in it, those who followed his dicta which consisted in dancing in rounds to the lugubrious and monotonous sounds of the words--"Heron! Heron!" without any significance.... With all veneration and frequency they repeated it night and day... some arriving at sacrificing life in consequence of the continuous motion and absence of food. (Ibid.)

The ritual participants probably danced with crosses and if "Heron" were chanted as "malie" (a Baniwa word meaning white heron) Venancio was successfully integrating Christian dances with traditional motifs (malie is always one of the refrains in Baniwa traditional dance-songs).

Venancio and his followers held dances at Santa Ana de Cuiary, on the lower Içana River, on the Piraiuara stream and at Tucano-point. One can well imagine that there were large gatherings of people in these villages. Each family or group of kin in a village gathered in a common setting, slinging up their hammocks in quickly-made shelters. The message of the World-burning and the Coming of the Savior attracted many people who wished to participate in the waiting, the dancing, and the common ritual activities. Above all, such ritual gatherings were of the peoples' own making, with a meaning which sought to unite Baniwa religion with folk Catholicism.

The dancing and the tribute-paying for salvation were seen as complementary ritual functions:

> An other condition for escaping the Burning and the purified ones ascending to heaven consisted in paying a tribute for marriages, baptisms and indispensible confessions, being the rule that the more generous would more quickly enjoy the fiery exemption and the celestial ascension, having to note, Venancio thought to them, that in Heaven, they would not need gardens, nor what they possessed in the world. For it is estimable the hunger and the misery which today the Içana and Vaupés are feeling again. (Ibid.)

Before proceeding with the narrative, we wish to draw several points of similarity between Venancio's religion and practice, and traditional Baniwa cosmology and belief. First of all, the end-of-the-world by cataclysmic fire has a central foundation in key myths which the Baniwa tell, notably the myth of Kuai, which I consider in Part III of this thesis. This myth is told to explain how human suffering, misfortune and sicknesses began in the world. In the end of this myth, an Inferno burns the earth and there is a celestial ascension of the hero, Kuai, who goes to live forever in the heavens, in a paradisical world free of sicknesses. Second, in Baniwa rituals at the event of deaths; the contrast of "this-world-of-suffering" and "the-other-world-of-non-suffering" (freedom from suffering) is explicitly made. Again, fire is a central mediatory symbol in the passage between the two worlds. Third, Baniwa shamans describe the process of curing ailments in terms which are very similar to the descriptions of Venancio's religious experiences: "death" is spoken of as an ascent to the heavens to speak with the deities, while the reverse, "rebirth," is spoken of as a return to this earth to advise Baniwa kin on how to be relieved from suffering. Baniwa shamans also claim the exclusive capability of saying whether this world will end (see Part I.E.1.a, and Part III.C.3, of this thesis). In all probability, it seems true to say that Venancio was a shaman.[41]

Finally, Venancio clearly perceived that Baniwa of the lower Içana were very concerned about suffering from hunger and from the exploitation of merchants. Venancio suggested as an alternative that Baniwa should reject their possessions and worldly concerns altogether and wait for the better life to come.

To continue with the narrative, probably the first outside official to hear about Venancio's reunions was Frei Salgado, who was in Marabitanas or São Gabrial at the time. According to the merchant Pinto, when Venancio preached at Jandú Falls, he sent an emissary to the lower Içana River, procuring "clothes, hammocks and chickens" (AA, II, 4: 116). Either word could have spread from there, or Pinto could have warned Salgado about Venancio. Salgado was immediately suspicious of a "foreign missionary" from Venezuela who was encouraging Baniwa to emigrate. In September, 1857, Salgado went to Santa Ana do Cuiary, but Venancio was still preaching near Jandú Falls. Salgado summoned Venancio and when the messiah came, he told Venancio to leave for Venezuela, threatening him with the police and with prison at São Gabriel should he fail to do so. Salgado's threats were, no doubt, backed with some show of force, and Venancio apparently decided not to stay on the Içana. By late October-early November, after the military raid on the Piraiuara stream, Venancio left the Içana for good; he and a group of followers went up the Cuiary River towards the Venezuelan town of Marôa and stayed on a small tributary of the Acque River called the Tiriquem (Romualdo-Furtado, 2/10/58, AA, II, 5: 12-15; JFX-Wilkens de Mattos, 1/1/58, AA, I, 4: 111-125; and de Sousa-Presidente, 9/8/58, "Extracto", "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858").

After Salgado issued his threat to Venancio, he claimed that he later journeyed to the headwaters of the Içana and there the Indians had heard no mention of the messiah. On his return, however, Salgado found that a group of Venancio's followers were led by three old people in dances and reunions on the Piraiuara stream. According to Padre Romualdo:

> There took place a repetition of such acts and it was there that they did public confessions, divorces, new marriages, following all this with profane diversions of dances, feasting and drinking which also was practiced on the Cuiary in following the teaching of doctrine and the supposed miracles of the one entitled Christ. (Romualdo-Furtado, Ibid.: 14)

Word reached the military at Marabitanas and São Gabriel. Captain Mathias then sent a despatch to the military detachment at Xibarú, asking for National Guard to assist in quelling the reunions. Mathias sent a military force to the Içana in late October; and Jesuino Cordeiro came to the Içana with a force of his own. Altogether, reports say that there was a force of "twenty canoes, heavy with people" who went up to the Piraiuara stream, wreaking destruction and havoc along the way. There is little to add to the story here, except that when the three old people were captured, they had in their possession the following items: a nailed box, two wrapped bundles, one with old cloth and the other a bag of bark cloth; three old shotguns and one carbine; and two old violas (Pinheiro-President Furtado, 11/24/57, AA, I, 2: 62). Presumably the violas were used in the dances, as they were at saint-day celebrations of Marabitanas and San Carlos.

As a direct result of the military depredations and the rumors of their return, people from Marabitanas, from the Xié, the Vaupés, and the Içana fled to the headwaters of the Içana, to Venezuela or to shelters in the forests away from the riverbanks. Xavier was told that upwards of 400 people had been seen going in forty five canoes via the Cuiary River to Venezuela, in early November (AA, I, 4: 111, 115, 125). Four large Baniwa settlements had been completely abandoned and Tunui had been burned to the ground. For the Baniwa, there was no compromising with arbitrary and abusive officials who terrorized and destroyed. The most effective recourse the Baniwa had was not to have any more to do with the officials and to seek refuge from persecution in regions where they could not be reached.

Just about the time when Mathias' forces terrorized the Içana, a new President of the Province entered into office. When Francisco José Furtado began his administration on November 10, 1857, he faced critical problems at the outset which were to last for the duration of his two terms, until late 1859. A great deal of attention centered on the Vaupés and Içana at this time because there was the possibility that all the commotion going on was part of an international conspiracy against Brazil. Furtado suspected that the disturbances on the Içana were due to revolutions in Venezuela or were due to the presence of one of the maritime powers (France, England or the United States) on the URN. Venancio Christo was, in fact, suspected to be a political agent, who worked in the guise of a missionary, and who was seeking to subvert Brazilian control by persuading Baniwa to refuse to work and to emigrate to Venezuela (Furtado-JFX, 11/13/57; Furtado-Romualdo, 11/13/57; and Furtado-Ministerio e Secretario d'Estado dos Negocios Estrangeiros, 12/10/57, AA, II, 5: 8-12). President Furtado sent Father Romualdo de Azevedo to the Içana to see about the commotions and to report back. Furtado also requested a warship from the Minister of Foreign Affairs and justified the request in the following terms:

> É' uma necessidade tão urgente quanto evidente. Sobra attender que sendo esta provincia extensissima pouco povoada, confinando com diversas nações, sem outras communicações que as fluvias à acção da autoridade tardé e a mas horas chega aos pontas em que ella reclamada, se ao serviço tiver somente barcos de vela ou remos. Nem estes tem o Governo da provincia para as necessidade do serviço. (Furtado-Visconde de Maranguape, 12/10/57, AA, II, 5: 11-12)

As it turned out, Father Romualdo was plagued with difficulties (sicknesses, transportation, etc.) from the start and it was not until February, 1858, that he finally reported from Marabitanas. By then, the Içana River and the lower Vaupés were entirely deserted and Romualdo had very little hope for reuniting the people (AA, II, 5: 12-

13). In the end, Pe. Romualdo never went to the Içana River because of attacks of fever and the conflicts between Frei Salgado and Xavier.

Venancio Christo never returned to the Içana or into Brazil after Salgado's threats. He probably remained in settlements around the Acque River and its Tiriquem tributary, and on occasion visited the town of Marôa. The Brazilian poet Antonio Gonçalves Dias visited the URN region in 1861, on a special mission for the Governor. He reported back that:

> Venancio, the one called Christ, is living on the Acque River and there continues with his preachings. The Indians of New Spain believe in him. In May of this year, canoes were still seen going from the Vaupés with boxes and presents to see the Christ. (Diario da Viagem ... 15 agosto-15 outobro, 1861)

Dias obtained two figures carved in wood which represented the Christ, along with other ornaments such as jaguar-tooth collars, quartz-pendants, macaw-feather crowns, etc. (presently in the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, Lopes de Sousa, 1959: xvii).

The authorities in Venezuela professed no knowledge of the native religious movements. One letter from the Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Affairs in Caracas, to President Furtado, states that the Government was "strange to the fact... of a perverse speculator who under the pretext of being the true Christ, entered Brazilian territory to abuse the credulity of the ignorant dwellers of those remote places" (Ministro-Furtado, AA, I, 2: 62-3). The Governor of the Venezuelan province of Amazonas, Michelena y Rojas, wrote a single report about his gubernatorial experiences but it was mostly about the pre-1856 period. Rojas praised very highly the towns of the Upper Rio Negro, but he made only a few oblique references to "speculators" (merchants) in the town of San Carlos and says nothing more specific about the movements. In fact, in May, 1858, during the height of the rebellions on the Vaupés and Xié Rivers, a political revolution occured in the Venezuelan government and Rojas, along with most of the Venezuelan military in the Rio Negro region, was sent away. This story will be told in greater detail in the following section.

II.D.5: Messiahs and Rebellions on the Vaupés and Xié Rivers

Hardly had the Baniwa recovered from the trail of fear left by the military in late 1857, when their kin on the lower Vaupés and Xié similarly became convinced in the possibilities of rebellion against the white establishments. Venancio had been very effective in communicating and encouraging a politico-religious organization which worked independently of outsiders. The movements and rebellions on the Vaupés and Xié were very short-lived but their leaders attempted to develop forms of leadership, status and ideology which had been initiated among the Baniwa. They tried to break new ground in the efforts to determine the quality and conditions of their own lives and not have these dictated by outsiders.

The movements on the Vaupés and Xié were interpreted by government officials as being far more political and militant in ideology and practice. The missionary Padre Romualdo came to the conclusion that the movements on the Vaupés were "a kind of conspiracy against civilized people" (Romualdo-Furtado, 4/12/58, AA, II, 7: 89). Given the great emphasis on "civilization" rhetoric which pervaded government officials' reports at this time, the Padre's statements are not, after all, surprising. In it, the rhetoric of control once again emerges, and this was later followed by the suppression of the movements themselves by the government.

According to Padre Romualdo, in late February-early March, 1858, a man by the name of Alexandre proclaimed himself Christo and held messianic reunions among people of a village called Juquirá-rapecuma, on the lower Vaupés between Ipanoré and Jauareté (refer to Sketch-Map in the previous section). Alexandre was a native of the Vaupés River and was very probably a Tukano Indian. As a youth, he had been raised in the house of a Portuguese merchant, Marques Caldeira, who lived near Marabitanas ("Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858": leaf 64). Alexandre was married, had a son named Angelo, and lived with his mother-in-law in the parish of Marabitanas. In 1857, Alexandre participated in Venancio's dances on the Piraiuara stream and he may have been among the leaders or a close associate of Venancio (Ibid.). He escaped from the military raid, however, and returned to his home.

He had previously had the intention of building a new house on the banks of a stream called Igarapé Manau, near Jauareté Rapids on the Vaupés. Alexandre went to the Vaupés to try to persuade his kin to come settle with him; when he returned to his family in Marabitanas, he found that he had been robbed of five alqueires of farinha. He was told that the robbers were a woman named Brittes and her daughter, who badly needed the farinha to pay off their debts to the military (Romualdo-Furtado, AA, II, 7: 89). Highly vexed at the robbery of food, which could have been used to tide them over while they were building new houses, Alexandre set fire to his house in Marabitanas and returned with his family to the Vaupés. There they lived in two villages: Juquirá-rapecuma and Naná-rapecuma (below the mouth of the Tiquié River, a Tukano village).

Both of these villages had been visited by A.R. Wallace in mid-1851. Naná-rapecuma was then reported to have 125 residents, and consisted of several houses and a large maloca. Many of the Tukano residents had lived and worked with traders on the Rio Negro (Wallace, 1853: 193). Yet they were very committed to strong participation in traditional life, when Wallace visited them and saw their festivals of exchange. Several hundred people in full array of ornaments and feathers would gather in the huge maloca to drink and dance. The men wore girdles of jaguar-teeth and ankle-rattles; some carried long bows and bundles of war arrows, dance-spears, or dance-rattles during the course of the dance. Wallace wrote his impressions:

> The wild and strange appearance of these handsome, naked, painted Indians, with their curious ornaments and weapons, the stamp and song and rattle which accompanies the dance, the hum of conversation in a strange language, the music of fifes and flutes and other instruments of reed, bone, and turtles' shells, the large calabashes of caxirí constantly carried about, and the great smoke-blackened gloomy house, produced an effect to which no description can do justice, and of which the sight of a half-a-dozen Indians going through their dances for show, gives but a very faint idea. (Ibid.)

Much the same sort of exuberance of traditional life was probably true of Juquirá-rapecuma, although both missionaries and Directors sought to change the Tukano there as much as possible. Numerous merchants lived and worked with the Tukano people, employing them to gather forest-products, to produce farinha and to make various goods for export (hammocks, benches, etc.)

In 1857, after Mathias' raid on the Içana, the Tukano of Naná-rapecuma and Juquirá-rapecuma fled for the forests. Captain Firmino Xavier actually met several Tukano on the banks of the Içana:

> having fled from the persecutions of Captain Mathias, who ... sent to the Rio Vaupés to look for chickens, hammocks, pigs and birds, without paying, and to take young men and women to serve him, in such a way that at the mouth of the Rio Vaupés, already there were no Indians, and other chiefs had fled to the Içana. (JFX-President, *AA*, II, 4: 123).

Xavier assured them that, under his administration, life would be more agreeable; even so, Xavier became to a number of people something of a despot. Padre Romualdo and Frei Salgado also found that living in Marabitanas was extremely difficult and soon moved to the lower Vaupés in early March, 1858 (*AA*, II, 7: 83-6). A number of other residents of Marabitanas, who were similarly disgruntled with Xavier, moved with Salgado to São Joaquim. (A total of fifty-nine people left Marabitanas with the missionaries; many of them were from the Melgueiras family. Furtado-JFX, 3/29/58, *AA*, II, 5: 16-17.) When the missionaries arrived at São Joaquim, they immediately learned that on the river above, people were engaged in activity with a proclaimed messiah, named Alexandre Christo. In Juquirá, Romualdo learned, there were:

> reunited many people, even to the *gentios* of the woods, of all nations, venerating the christ, who there predicted the same as occurred on the Pira-iuara on the Içana, that is, baptizing, marrying, etc.; that this reunion counted for more than 1000 people armed of fire arms and *curabis* (poison-arrows) disposed to resist ... in case there would be as happened on the Içana. (*AA*, II, 7: 85-6)

Conceivably, "more than 1000 people" could include the entire population of about ten large Tucano and Tariano villages from the mouth of the Vaupés up to Jauareté. Large-scale dance festivals usually numbered upwards of several hundred participants. War-arrows, lances and even shotguns were normal instruments used in the dances (i.e., there is no implication of resistance in the use of the instruments alone).

The rituals which Alexandre succeeded in starting up took place in houses which Alexandre had especially constructed. Some estimates of the sizes of these houses vary between 32-36' by 10', and 39' by 23'. Both houses are rather small in comparison with the traditional maloca of Jauareté on the Vaupés.

The ceremonies were for the most part hidden from the missionaries because people knew that these would suppress them. Also, people were convinced of their capabilities in conducting rituals without the necessity of any outside missionary. When Romualdo and Salgado made known their presence on the Vaupés, a message was sent back from Juquirá that "they did not need Padres for they already had their own" (AA, II, 7: 86).

The missionaries decided to investigate. Romualdo fell ill, however, and Salgado decided to go on alone. He proceeded with a party of about seven people, armed with five shotguns, in the last week of March, 1858. In Juquirá they were received coldly and no one claimed to know anything of Alexandre's whereabouts. Salgado began preaching among the "multitudes" of men and women united in the chief's house, showing them the large metal cross hanging around his neck, explaining about the "true Christ" and ordering them to kiss the cross, "in respect and veneration." The people coldly turned their backs on the friar and walked away (AA, II, 7: 86). Later, Salgado asked why they did not bring any more children to be baptized and they replied that they had no use for Salgado's baptisms because de Bene had already done so. Sensing a distinct hostility towards his presence, Salgado decided to return and requested that the chief assist him by ordering people to help in portage over the rapids of Ipanoré. The chief responded there was no one to help, no one wanted to accompany them (Ibid.: 86-7). Salgado pleaded and insisted, becoming indignant and hot under the collar as the people continued to walk away. Salgado called for help from his armed companions who brought out their guns and directed themselves at the chief, threatening him with gunfire if the people made any movement against them (Ibid.: 87). The people had by then all but disappeared into the forests surrounding the settlement, leaving only the chief, his son and two others whom the Friar ordered to help with their canoes.

Salgado's version of the story is that when they reached Ipanoré Rapids, the group disembarked to pass the canoes over the portage trail. The chief suddenly went to the woods and immediately afterwards, guns fired from the forest into their midst. One of their party fell wounded, and Salgado was hit lightly on the leg. The others took their guns, hid behind a clump of rocks and made a small fire, as a diversion tactic. The assailants continued to shoot from the forest, using both guns and poison-arrows (AA, II, 7: 87). After a half-hour skirmish, two of the assailants were apparently wounded fatally, and the skirmish stopped. Salgado's party received about four wounds, one being near-fatal.

That night, while Salgado's party stayed in a downstream village, caring for their wounds, three Indians came to the village and informed a dweller that two of the assailants had died from the morning skirmish. The dweller replied that Salgado had gone to São Gabriel to get military troops and would return shortly to do battle.

The Indians returned upriver to inform Alexandre Christo of the imminent return. Needless to say, the news sowed about as much confusion among the Tukano as the rumor of a second military invasion from Marabitanas had among Baniwa a few months before. Most documents suppose that Alexandre had sent people to fire on Salgado at Ipanoré. Whether or not this was actually true, people had to prepare for the probable consequences.

It was precisely after this incident that Padre Romualdo wrote to the Governor of the Province about "a conspiracy against the civilized people" recommending as a course of action:

> to capture the Christo, the chief and the principal to be punished ... for ... this business of sainthood which is already generalizing in other villages, ... seems to be a species of conspiracy against the civilized people. (AA, II, 7: 88-9)

The control and the punishment of the leaders would eradicate the "evil" which the missionaries perceived to be a very grave and developing threat to the presence of "civilized" people in the region.

Two weeks after these events, Captain Joaquim Firmino Xavier received the first reports that there were messianic "reunions" taking place on the Xié River. It is possible that Alexandre left the Vaupés River soon after he heard the rumors of approaching military, in order to join the Xié River movements. Many rumors floated around from then until October or so as the Indians and officials alike tried to figure out what the other was doing. It was a complex time in which the scenes shift and the people move on and off the stage quickly. The following reconstruction is based heavily on the reports left by Marcos de Sousa, the Municipal Justice, who determined a great deal of these "facts" during his mission in mid-1858.

After the incident at Ipanoré Rapids, Alexandre feared Salgado's threats and the possibility of reprisal from the military. He sought refuge in an inaccessible territory. He, with the members of his family, the chief of Juquirá-rapecuma and a number of others, left the Vaupés River in April. They went on their way to join Venancio around the Acque River below Marôca. One route which they very likely took in their flight was a trail which went through the woods to the Içana River. The Baniwa who lived in the forest regions at the headwaters of streams, between the Yaviary River and connecting tributaries on the lower Içana, turned the fugitives back, blocked their passage, or resisted their migration and persuasion to join forces. The Municipal Justice states that the rebels were "obstaculados pelos Baniwas" ("Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858"), and the Justice quotes someone (never mentioned whom) that "para que não os fossem novamente arruinar, como dizião" (Ibid.: leaf 64).

Alexandre's group then returned to the Vaupés River and tried to sort out what their next move would be. By then, some Tukano and Tariano chiefs were reaching a point of serious questioning and doubting of Alexandre's position and authority. Alexandre had preached to them that "manioc and manioc bread from heaven" would come to them on a certain day, if they remained true followers (Ibid.). The day passed and nothing appeared. It was in April and the rainy season was beginning, a time when hunger on the Vaupés would be harsh. The people were in for another long hungry season, they were tired, had had enough, and were not convinced of Alexandre's sanctity. So, many left the movement and returned to their homes. One of

Alexandre's group quarreled bitterly with Alexandre about the affair with Friar Salgado at Ipanoré Rapids, calling Alexandre an "assassin" and not a saint. Rumors spread that Alexandre had this person killed and had the deceased's body burned (de Sousa-Presidente Furtado, 7/25/58, Doc. No. 5, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858").

The chief of Juquirá-rapecuma accepted Alexandre and his group of followers back into the village. Alexandre was not yet undone by the loss of following. He preached a new message by which he could justify the failure of his initial promises. This new message is a statement of how Alexandre's milenial rhetoric became the rhetoric of revolutionary transformation:

> Alexandre tried to save collision /with the chief of Juquirá/ assuring that his promises had not been fulfilled because God had taken the new measure of substituting them, whereby the tapuios /Indians/ would transform into whites and these into those by whom they would be governed, with the same power and riches, in compensation for the time for which the whites had governed them. ("Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858": leaf 64)

Alexandre's new ideology did focus on the relation between "civilized" and "native" society, as Padre Romualdo had supposed, but the purpose of it was precisely to overturn the political and economic relationships of power which were known and felt to exist. The ideology pushed in a different direction from Venancio's catastrophic-end-of-the-world and second-coming evangelism. It moved into the economic powers which had been until then held by the merchants, the political powers held by the military and the government. Religious rituals were directed by native Padres who had the authority to baptize. This in itself gave people strength in numbers and self-determination in important matters. God, through Alexandre, had determined that people would gain total control, and they would receive back the powers to determine the conditions of their lives, in this world and not the other world. Instead of eliminating the white man in the fires of São João, or by the threats of massacre, there would be a trade-off in political and economic places. This had a righteous tone to it, because the white man would learn how to suffer and how it felt to be ordered, to serve and to work. No doubt this contributed to a renewal among Alexandre's followers to the movement, for if God fulfilled these new promises, there would be no worry of retribution from any military. The people would be invulnerable.

Alexandre managed to keep together a group of about forty followers until June of 1858. The dances continued and the groups awaited the outcome of the second prophecy. Soon, difficulties again arose between Alexandre and the chief of Juquirá. Alexandre's group decided to relocate downriver to Naná-rapecuma, but by then a commission sent by the Governor was already on its way.

With the reader's patience, I would like to backtrack to mid-April, 1858, when rebellions on the Xié River and messianic movements were first reported. The story becomes more complex, but really the Commission sent by the Governor had to report on all these events at once.

In mid-April, 1858, Captain Firmino Xavier was informed by a soldier named Elisbão Melgueira from the military detachment at São Marcellino (at the mouth of the Xié River) that new reunions were taking place at São Marcellino and Santa Anna (below the mouth of the Içana River). The participants were dancing with crosses and were being led by another "new christ" and a helper, "padre santo" (JFX-Furtado, 5/1/58, Copia 2, #63, Correspondencia dos Ministros da Justiça, 1858). Xavier immediately went to investigate, but by the time he arrived, the people of São Marcellino had ended their dances and returned to their homes. Elisbão informed Xavier, however, that an Indian laborer named Cypriano Lopes, who was a shaman of some repute, had been involved in the dances and several people who refused to participate in the reunions were fatally poisoned by him (the method of poisoning was common: venom hidden in drink). Cypriano had supposedly killed a soldier of the detachment and two Indians.

Xavier ordered Elisbão to summon the dwellers of São Marcellino, while he went downriver to Santa Anna on the Rio Negro. He claims that he walked into the village while people were in the middle of a dance: "more than forty persons, each one with a cross" were being led by a certain police guard, Domingos Antonio. Xavier says that he took away the crosses, scolded the participants, ordered them to return to their homes and the works of their gardens, and to quit such "idleness" (vadiação) as they were engaged in. Domingos Antonio was probably sent to prison at São Gabriel (JFX-Furtado, 5/1/58, Copia 2, #63, Correspondencia dos Ministros da Justiça)

After the incident at Santa Anna, Xavier was informed that in fact a "desertor" from the military detachment at Marabitanas, named Bazilio Melgueira, had joined the dances at São Marcellino, and proclaimed himself the "new christ." One Indian named Claudio José, a native of São Marcellino, acted as Padre Santo, while Cypriano Lopes was just a close follower of the messiah.

After the dances had dispersed, the new christ Bazilio and his followers (people of São Marcellino, Santa Anna, São Felippe, Nossa Senhora da Guia) reportedly went on their way up the Xié River where they could continue their dances in peace. Xavier had reports that upwards of 150 people had joined together at the headwaters of the Xié River where, it was thought, they were joining forces with Venancio Christo, Alexandre Christo and all their followers (JFX-Furtado, 6/2/58, Correspondencia dos Ministros da Justiça).

By mid-May, Bazilio was reported to be in Venezuela with about fifteen people, all of his family, and about eight other families of the Xié River. All of them were reported at the Fort of San Carlos, which had been virtually abandoned of all military about a month before.[42] Even though Bazilio was out of reach of the Brazilian military, Xavier was convinced that upwards of 100 people were still meeting on the upper Xié and Xavier reported to the Municipal Justice in June that "the reunions of the Christos had converted into armed reunions" ready to resist any military force sent out after them (de Sousa-Furtado, 6/25/58, Doc. No. 5, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858"). A long time later, Xavier got hold of several witnesses who swore to this, and one of them was the daughter of the "sorcerer" Cypriano Lopes. She testified that the "reunions" were located on the Mamuy stream, at the Xié headwaters. (I am not able to locate the Mamuy on the many maps I have looked at. The name of the stream may have changed, or it may have been too small to be mapped. The location I have made on the sketch-map is approximate.) She stated that:

> Many men and women not only of the village of São Marcellino, but also of São Felippe, occupied themselves in daily dances, with fermented drinks, dancing with crosses, having for a chief the Indian Claudio, who called himself Padre Santo, marrying and baptizing at his fine pleasure, and

> they had three shotguns, and many poisoned darts, to oppose themselves to whatever force that there was. ("Auto de Perguntas", 2/28/59, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858")

Furthermore, the local magistrate at São Marcellino affirmed that the dwellers of the village of São Marcellino had fled to the Xié headwaters where Claudio José was located and that Claudio had "for a long time been occupied in this "idleness" (vadiação) and was even on the Içana River with Venancio Christo when Cadete Araújo was there" (Ibid.).

At this point, I am forced arbitrarily to break the narrative and to introduce a new set of actors in our social drama. From May/June to September, 1858, the provincial government intervened in the URN region as a direct result of the "disturbances" on the major tributaries. To the government, it was not a question of a handful of rebels, and in light of the revolution in Venezuela, a great deal was at stake. It was not a question of foreign spies or a missionary, or "speculators who played on the credulity of ignorant Indians." There was a very real historical possibility that government authority in the URN region was about to be thrown out by organized Indian movements.

II.D.6: The President's Commission and a Return to "Order"

A few words should be mentioned here about the composition, purpose and plan of the special commission sent by the President of the Province to investigate the commotions on the Vaupés, Içana and Xié. In May, 1858, several important articles appeared in the newspaper *Estrella do Amazonas*, one of the major newspapers of the capitol city of Manaus, about the messianic reunions. Clearly, the affairs on the frontier were a serious and widespread public concern, and there was mounting pressure in the capitol to capture and punish the leaders Venancio, Alexandre and Cypriano Lopes for their reputed "crimes." President Furtado then instructed the Delegate of Police and Municipal Justice, Marcos Antonio Rodrigues de Sousa to organize an expedition to the URN region where they would seek out the cooperation of Padre Romualdo and try to persuade the Indians, without the use of force, to return to their homes. Above all, de Sousa was instructed *to use persuasive techniques*, in order to make people see their errors (i.e., it will be important to watch how the rhetoric of control enters into the drama). Furtado advised, however, that should verbal persuasion fail, only then could military force be used. De Sousa would have thirteen military units (about seventy five men) accompanying him up the Rio Negro, and if more forces were needed, de Sousa could call on the National Guard and all other military detachments located on the Rio Negro (Furtado-de Sousa, Copia #1, *Correspondencia*). De Sousa was given the same list of instructions as Padre Romualdo about the capture and imprisonment of only the leaders. Finally, Xavier and Frei Salgado were ordered to leave the area, because they were seen as contributing to the emigration and flight of people.

De Sousa was to work closely with Captain Pinheiro in obtaining detailed and informative reports on everything of interest to the President about the Upper Rio Negro region. A wide gamut of topics was to be investigated in the Commission's two-and-one-half months stay in the region; virtually no stone was to be left uncovered in determining the causes of the rebellions.

After several delays, de Sousa, Pinheiro and the troops arrived in São Gabriel da Cachoeira in early July, where they formulated careful plans for proceeding with the investigation (Docs. 3-4, 7/3/58, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858"). Long afterwards, de Sousa admitted that the task seemed to be impossible: "The field in which I had to operate was immense; each palm was a hiding-place, a road to the headwaters of the rivers and streams ... " ("Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858"). Captain Firmino Xavier's news that the rebellions on the Xié had become armed, forced de Sousa to change his plans (Doc. 5, de Sousa-Furtado, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858"). He, a scrivener named Gervasio, and Captain Pinheiro planned to go to Marabitanas and to the Xié, while two other officials would act as the emissaries of the Commission and go up the Vaupés River to determine the state of affairs there. Before de Sousa and Pinheiro left, they first went to São Joaquim and de Sousa talked to the Melgueiras family and others who had sought refuge there from Marabitanas. De Sousa listened to their bitter complaints against Xavier and Salgado, then he advised them of the good intentions of the Commission and urged them to return to their homes (de Sousa-JFX, 7/20/58, Doc. #7, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858").

Captain Pinheiro reached São Marcellino and went up the Xié River, getting about halfway upriver. Instead of finding any reunions, or news of them, Pinheiro found no one at all. Neither the dwellers of São Marcellino nor the half-dozen people left on the Xié knew anything of the disturbances (or, if they did, they were not saying so). Pinheiro persuaded a Uarequena chief named Diogo to meet with de Sousa. This chief told the official that everyone on the Xié had fled to the headwaters because they feared the military, and that a rumor had been spread that Xavier was coming to capture everyone and take them away. Pinheiro and de Sousa persuaded the chief to try to get the people at the headwaters to return to their settlements (Doc. 5, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858").

De Sousa and Pinheiro then planned to return to the Vaupés on July 20, 1858, being convinced that all was left "in complete tranquility" (Ibid.). They did, however, take Cypriano Lopes as prisoner and sent him on to São Gabriel where the troops could keep watch over him. De Sousa was convinced that "the dancers of Christ were more worthy of condolence than punishment" and sought only to fulfill his duties (Ibid.).

While in São Marcellino, the commission heard that Alexandre Christo and company had been on their way to Nanà-rapecuma to conduct dances, but that when news of the Commission reached them, Alexandre and company panicked and went into hiding. They reportedly went to the Içana River (a rumor which later proved to be false). De Sousa sent Pinheiro to the Içana and it was then that the Captain recorded the complaints of the Baniwa against Pinto and Xavier. Baniwa also told Pinheiro that Alexandre was not on the Içana but had fled south of the Vaupés and was somewhere on the Tiquie River.

Just as de Sousa was preparing to return to the Vaupés to investigate, on July 23rd, while passing through the village of São Felippe, de Sousa's scrivener Gervasio shot himself in the head, committing suicide at the village port, while twenty five people of the village stood around and watched (*Ibid*., Doc. 5)! De Sousa, needless to say, was taken aback but kept a level head throughout the next few days, taking care of the necessary affairs of burial and despatches, then calmly proceeding to São Joaquim.[43]

On the Vaupés, de Sousa proceeded with caution, with respect for the people, and with wise reserve. For instance, the people of Naná-rapecuma were engaged in a dance-festival in which sacred flutes were being played. De Sousa decided to leave them be, because the presence of soldiers in his company would surely have been disastrous. While passing by Taraquá, at the mouth of the Tiquie River, the Indians immediately fled when they saw the soldiers. De Sousa sent gifts and requests for them to return. When some did, he promised that a religious festival would be forthcoming if all of them returned to their village.

The two emissaries of the Commission, who had preceded de Sousa, had managed to summon and join together "five chiefs and 150 of their people" for a meeting in a village above Ipanoré Rapids. Among the people were none other than Alexandre's son Angelo and a close follower of Alexandre named Caetano (whom de Sousa called Alexandre's "Captain of the Guard of Honor"). From them, de Sousa determined that Alexandre had left the group entirely, with his wife and younger son, and had gone to the Tiquie River. A Maku Indian had seen the group heading through the forest in an easterly direction towards São Joaquim and the Rio Negro (to an obscure hideaway where Alexandre was supposed to have gardens). De Sousa doubted the Maku's word and so sent five people to look on the Tiquie River. In the end, they were totally unsuccessful in finding the group ("Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858", "Diligencias e Expressos", leaf 65). Oddly enough, Angelo and Caetano were among the group of five. On the fifth day of their travels up the Tiquie River, however, the group showed signs of rebellion and the two, Angelo and Caetano, threatened to leave. So the soldier who led the group was forced to return from the Tiquie. Since both Angelo and Caetano threatened to spread rumors among people of "the treachery of the whites," de Sousa decided to use them as examples for the others that the leaders of a rebellion could be subdued to work as rowers for the Commission. Caetano, however, later committed suicide (see below).

In the end, Alexandre and his family were never located by the Commission. In fact, the messiah remained in hiding for over a year and a half and no one knew exactly where. The Municipal Justice hypothesized that Alexandre would either re-appear around the Japurá River and there renew the rebellions which he had initiated, or "he would quiet down in his gardens and hope his crimes would be forgotten with time" ("Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858", leaves 64-5). In February of 1860, Alexandre emerged from his hiding and was reported in São Gabriel where he made promises to the Director of Indians "to live from then on in peace and at his work" (Correspondencia dos Ministros da

Justiça, 2/3/60). He requested that he be allowed to live at Santa Anna on the Rio Negro, and as far as is known, the Governor and local officials allowed the request to be granted.

On the Vaupés, in July, 1858, de Sousa's initial reunion with the five chiefs and their people seemed to move satisfactorily except in one respect: the chief of Juquirárapecuma showed signs of being "excessively touchy" (*demasiadamente resabiado*) to the presence of the Commission. Nevertheless, after the initial meeting, the entire group joined together and went downriver in sixteen canoes to a village called Urubuquara where the next day they held another reunion, adding one more chief and sixty other people. The Commission traded with the Indians and then finally de Sousa made an important speech before all those reunited in the maloca: the Governor, he said, knew of the dances of the Christos, but the Governor had no intention of "castigating" people. Rather, de Sousa proposed to the six chiefs that they lend some people to work on building a chapel, which would be inaugurated five days hence, with full ceremony and a religious festival. The chiefs replied to de Sousa's proposal that they needed supplies, and de Sousa immediately provided them. In four days, a chapel was built by sixty six workers. They were paid, and on the night of the fourth day, they gathered before the new chapel. Padre Romualdo organized a procession in which he led a group, carrying a cross, into the chapel: "with all veneration and respect notwithstanding the selection I made of the naked ones whom I did not allow to enter the temple" ("Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858", leaf 37).

The next day, 315 people from eighteen villages on the Vaupés and tributaries united in the new chapel, where de Sousa made another speech in which he strengthened the tone of his persuasion: it was a "crime against religion" he said, to have accompanied Alexandre; it displeased the Governor, "paying him evil for his good wishes." The Governor understood, nevertheless, that they had been "deluded, as the poor people that they were." They would not be punished this time, but the next time, they would be castigated (Ibid.). If caught, Alexandre would be used as an example of the type of punishment the Governor could give. Furthermore, de Sousa added, people should stop their raiding of Makus for sale. And, if in the future, people felt they were suffering from persecution, they should seek out the help of the local authorities and not seek refuge in the woods. With that, de Sousa ended his message and urged that the word be passed among those not present. The message seemed to be well-received and no doubt, it was discussed and remembered in extremely fine detail by the Indians for days and weeks afterwards. De Sousa's mission on the Vaupés had ended, but he immediately returned to São Joaquim for news had reached him that there were disturbances on the Xié River.[44]

At the end of July/beginning of August, Xavier wrote that the people of São Marcellino expressed their resentment of the imprisonment of Cypriano Lopes and that one person had said:

> If the Governor wanted to build houses, he should build them himself, because Your Excellency has deceived with words and has taken away Cypriano. (JFX-de Sousa, 30/7/58, Doc. 20, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858")

Xavier further asserted that, with one exception, there were no Indians coming to work on the public service at the Fort, that it was impossible to find anyone for the mail service, and that no farinha was being sent to Cucui (Ibid.)--despite the fact of the Baniwa participation in the public service! De Sousa went to Nossa Senhora da Guia, where Cypriano had a house, in order to determine whether Xavier's report was based on rumor, or made up by Xavier. De Sousa found instead that things were quiet, Cypriano's family and other people were working on new houses, and people were surprised when they found out the reason for de Sousa's new visit. De Sousa was quite pleased in fact with peoples' willingness to participate in public service work, even despite the irritating presence of the National Guard in various villages (de Sousa-JFX, 13/8/58, Doc. 22, "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858"). De Sousa pointed out that there was reason to doubt that there had been any rebellion at all on the Xié, because July and August were the months when people normally celebrated saint-day festivals.

De Sousa returned to São Joaquim convinced that Xavier had distorted the truth on this, as he had on so many other occasions. This view was what de Sousa urged the President to believe, and Furtado himself wrote in 1859 that there were "some doubts" about the Xié rebellions ("Relatorio ...", Relatorios da Presidencia, II: 218).[45]

De Sousa concluded the Commission's work in September, 1858, being convinced that in the course of several months of intensive work, a sort of truce and peace had been restored between the Brazilian government and the Indians of the URN region. At least, so it seemed; and it was perhaps gratifying to the government to know that several months later, Wanana Indians captured Caetano, Alexandre's follower, because he was agitating again, and turned him in.

According to the news report:

> On December 24, a military express arrived from the upper Rio Negro and it reports that that part of our frontier enjoys tranquility; withal an Indian by the name of Caetano, an emissary of the celebrated Alexandre, roamed on the Vaupés, seducing its inhabitants to follow his sect; being taken prisoner by the chief of the village at Caruru Rapids, he was taken to the Subdelegate of São Gabriel who sent him by the same express for disposition of the chief of Police. This Caetano ... threw himself in the river above Santa Izabel at midnight on the eighth day of the voyage, bound by hand and foot as he was, and his corpse did not appear until the next day .... (Estrella do Amazonas, 12/25/58, No. 316)

Caetano's act signalled, in a sense, a turning point in peoples' relations to Alexandre's movement. For all intents and purposes, Venancio Christo was the only one who continued evangelical activities and who attracted numbers of people from over the region, for years afterwards.

Soon after the Commission's investigation was over, a new set of local officials was selected. Xavier was removed from office in early 1859 and was replaced by Captain Pinheiro. In all, Xavier never budged an inch throughout his administration; insensitive to peoples' problems, a zealous worker but overbearing and demanding, Xavier thought little of the messiahs and rebellions. He just basically wanted people to forget the "idleness" they were engaged in and to return to work for the "public service."

Pinheiro's later relations with the Baniwa appeared to be cordial, peaceful and productive. At least, according to reports which Pinheiro sent to the Governor, by 1860, the region was enjoying "profound quiet":

> Its inhabitants who had fled to the woods or went to procure asylum in the frontier country, have returned to their houses; and at present, as before, are occupied in their works, in cleaning their villages and repair of their churches. ("Exposição Apresentada ao ... Presidente da Província, pelo primeiro Vice-Presidente da mesma", 24 nov., 1860: 4)

A new Vicar was selected to replace Salgado at São Gabriel. Most documents about the official state that he did not get along at all with either the Director of Indians or the military. Consequently, despite the humane efforts made by the government to improve education and schooling, local-level politics prevented the realization of these programs. For all intents and purposes, there was no missionizing on the Vaupés, Içana or Xié Rivers until the 1880's.[46]

The new Director of Indians for the Vaupés, José Joaquim Palheta, was also the subdelegate of Police at São Gabriel. He was a native of the region and his brother Nicolau was one of the principal merchants to travel and work on the URN from 1860-80. Both together policed the region and maintained commercial relations with the Indians. Both were influential in controlling millenial activities on the Vaupés, Içana and elsewhere for years to come. In 1863, for example, Nicolau reported that new dances were taking place on the Vaupés River, and he immediately suppressed them by taking away the crosses and shipping them off to São Gabriel ("Oficios do Secretario da Policia" 1863, 10/14, Doc. #141, in Book of the same name, located in Arquivo Publico in Manaus).

Throughout much of the early 1860's there was an increasing pressure within the government at Manaus to abolish the post of Director of Indians. Supporters of the Directors maintained that they protected the Indians against exploitation. Opponents of the position argued that the Directors were the worst exploiters of them all (Relatorios da Presidencia, III: 631). The opponents won, and in mid-1866, the post was finally abolished. For at least a decade afterwards, this left a very large vacuum in the efforts to "control," "civilize" and develop the URN region. In effect, the military and the merchants remained in control, a situation not unlike that of the pre-1852 age, before all the push to "civilizing" began.

In concluding this chapter, I would like to make a few general remarks on the situation of the Baniwa on the Içana and Aiary, as far as we have taken their history. Throughout the early nineteenth Century, Baniwa had limited contact with both Portuguese and Spanish officials. Our hypothesis was that this was a period of renewal of social relations, of revitalization and rebirth of Baniwa society. Then, in the mid-nineteenth Century, the white people came once again with a new drive to "civilize" the Indians and to control the frontier region. They took people away to work, they captured the forest-people by force, and they exploited the Indians for their labor. Throughout the decade of the 1850's this situation got progressively worse, as various merchants, who had worked for years among the Baniwa, added to the debt-bondage in which the Indians were already entrenched. The white control was truly oppressive, exploitative, and impossible by the late 1850's. Venancio Christo's religious experiences seemed to "catch up" all the modes of suffering which the Baniwa knew and experienced: debt-bondage, hunger, sickness, etc. Having a deep understanding of evangelical ritual, coupled with the knowledge of traditional dance-forms, Venancio integrated the two. His ideology bore a strong resemblance to Baniwa myth and cosmology, so much so that perhaps Baniwa were equating Venancio with Kuai, the culture-hero in their mythology. In any case, they respected Venancio and the ideology he espoused. Without doubt, Venancio and other messiahs of the time urged and taught the Baniwa a new mode of adaptation to the white man, particularly as the white man became oppressive. Through religious rituals, or through refuge in inaccessible regions, Baniwa could continue to conduct their ways of life without the presence of the white man. This is a struggle which the Baniwa have continued until today.

Endnotes

[26] My point of view in these introductory remarks and in this section has been informed and influenced by the key article "The Rhetoric of Control" by R. Rosaldo, in The Reversible World, ed. by Barbara Babcock (1978), pp. 240-257. Dr. Rosaldo developed these ideas in "Utter Savages of Scientific Value", a colloquium address delivered at Stanford University, October 26, 1979. In the article, Dr. Rosaldo makes the important observation that:

> Civilized society is most likely to infer the social character of indigenous peoples from those acts that impede commerce and that are completely at variance with civilized social norms (and hence especially likely to be defined as criminal). In addition, it seems that inferences about social character lead to deductions about the habitat of indigenous peoples .... (1978: 240)

[27] I have not seen the text of the 1845 Decreto and most of my information is based on references to it in Archivo do Amazonas and the Reports of the Provincial Presidents in Relatorios dos Presidentes ..., Vols. I-V.

[28] In 1845, when the Decreto of 24 July was passed, the government at Pará was concerned to demarcate the Brazilian possessions on the far Upper Rio Negro, to list all the missions which were considered Brazilian, and all native villages which were within its territory (see especially Baena's resumé of the history of demarcation written for the government of Pará, RIHGB, tomo VIII, 1845: 329-337). This information was required because Brazil and Venezuela were considering renewal of the Treaty of Limits in 1852.

Negotiations for the demarcation of the boundary between Brazil and Venezuela began in 1843 and a treaty of friendship and boundaries was signed at Caracas on November 25, 1852. It failed to be ratified in Venezuela, however, but a later one in 1859 came to pretty much the same terms and location of the boundary. Furthermore, it added terms of free navigation of Brazilian and Venezuelan vessels on either side of the border, subject only to fiscal and police regulations. The actual marking of the boundaries, however, was done in 1880 by a mixed commission (G. Ireland, Boundaries, Possessions and Conflicts in South America, (Cambridge, 1938), 138-44). Until then, old markers, cut by Lobo d'Almada on the trees of the upper Içana served as boundary markers.

[29] The financing of the Director Geral and his activities was to come from the General Treasury of Pará and the provincial treasury at Barra. For the first five or six years of its operation, however, Directors complained of deficient financing or no financing at all. By 1852, however, the Directors were receiving salaries which could reasonably be used for the tasks they were required to do (Docs. A, B, and C, in Relatorios, I: 96).

[30] According to the General Director, João Henrique Wilkens de Mattos, by 1856, there were six missions in the province: 1) Porto Alegre on the Rio Branco, 2) the Vaupés and Içana (established on Feb. 11, 1852), 3) the Japurá, Tonantins and Iça tributaries of the Solimões (established in 1849), 4) Andira, on the island of Tupinambaranas (by 1856, already extinct), 5) S. Luis Gonzago on the Rio Pusús, 6) tributaries of the Madeira (RIHGB, XIX, 1856: 124-9).

[31] Very little information emerges from the documents about de Bene's previous missionary background. De Bene was already ageing when he began work on the Vaupés and Içana; he had experience in a mission on the Rio Branco in 1851 (RIHGB, tomo XIX; 125). Most reports of de Bene's career on the far upper Rio Negro are laudatory; he appears to have been a straightforward, "zealous" worker with an immense task facing him in the new mission.

Jesuino Cordeiro was a different sort of person. He was a native of the Rio Negro region; his father had served under Manuel da Gama Lobo d'Almada and knew the people of the far Upper Rio Negro in ways that de Bene did not. Born and raised on the Cauabory River, he spoke principally lingua geral. He served for many years in the local militia at Marabitanas, São Gabriel, and later, at Cucui. When not on duty, he worked as a merchant, trading for salsaparilha, keeping up a continuous trade with other local merchants. Most documents about Cordeiro describe him as quick-tempered, quarrelsome, but attentive to duty and responsive to orders from superiors (AA, I, 2: 56). For a less kindly statement, see the characterization by Wallace.

[32] The original of this document is in a book entitled Correspondencia dos Vigararios, Missões e Autoridades Diversas ... 1851-4. I thought that this book was located

in the Archivo Publico in Manaus. Despite frequent inquiries and searches, I was not able to locate it and would be interested in knowing where it might be.

[33] In 1856, de Bene was called by the Governor to Manaus either because of political conflicts with the Director of the Indians or because he requested a change in mission. He transferred to the parish of Alvellos on the Solimões and continued working until his death (Wilkens de Mattos, 1856: 127).

[34] The detachment at São Marcellino was specifically assigned to "prevent the entrance of suspicious persons on the Xié River, which affords trails from the Rapids of Comate, on the upper river, by which with ease one can go to the various villages of Venezuela. (Gurjão, 1855: 16-7)

[35] The Marabitanas population in 1856 was 1378 ("Relatorio App. à Ass. Leg., ... 1856, Mapa 9", Relatorios, I: 508-9). Gurjão reported that there were 42 residences with about 32 people in each. Marabitanas was second only to São Gabriel in population of all Rio Negro settlements at this time.

[36] Xavier victimized Vicente Rodrigues in the process. Rodrigues complained bitterly to the Delegate of Police about Xavier's "abuses, violences and arbitrarities" from November, 1857 to May/June, 1858 (Rodrigues-Juiz Municipal, Doc. 53 of the full report of the Municipal Justice. These documents, upon which much of this story and this chapter is based, are a collection of well over 200 pages of reports, complaints, testimony, etc., which the Municipal Justice obtained and organized from a fact-finding mission to the URN region in July-September, 1858. When referring to a particular document in the set, I list the document number, followed by "Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858.").

As Rodrigues told his story to the Municipal Justice, Xavier had a friend named Rita who was the sister of Pinto. Her cousin Ramozinda once lived with Xavier but fled in November and took refuge with Rodrigues. Xavier then sent a military force to bring her back and surrounded Rodrigues' house. She slipped away but Xavier soon after issued orders prohibiting Rodrigues commercial activities on the Içana. Despite a formal request to return, Rodrigues was threatened with prison because Xavier believed he still held Ramozinda. Rodrigues complained to various authorities in São Gabriel and even went to Manaus. He spent five months in the city but returned having achieved nothing.

During his absence, Xavier once again terrorized Rodrigues' home and family, taking away a Venezuelan woman named Rosa, who was living with Rodrigues' family. Soon after, Xavier returned and informed the merchant that he would only let him conduct commerce on the Içana with a soldier in his company and on condition that he return Ramozinda. Rodrigues really had no hopes of ever entering on the Içana to do business while Xavier and Pinto controlled the region.

For an opposing view of this situation, Xavier himself accused Rodrigues of taking Içana Indians by force "to serve them" (*AA*, I, 4: 123); thus he had no qualms about eliminating Rodrigues.

[37] At least five documents of the Municipal Justice's Report are formal complaints against Xavier; several are against Pinto, and one is written by Xavier supporting Pinto and accusing Rodrigues. One document (No. 36) is basically a list of accusations and complaints against officials and merchants from 1856-8. The list is straightforward and includes such things as the sale of children, abuses against the Carapaná people, and immoralities of the missionary Vicar of São Gabriel, Frei Salgado.

Each was out to accuse the other person of abuses of the Indians. Xavier wrote against Captain Pinheiro for raiding the Baniwa of the upper Içana (*AA*, I, 4: 117).

One cannot escape the impression that Baniwa were faced with shitty officials, despotic, abusive and gain-seeking, whose only purpose in life was to make others suffer.

[38] Salgado made no reports and left the bulk of his correspondence to Padre Romualdo. Long before Xavier entered the Rio Negro region, Salgado had worked on the Rio Negro, apparently with considerable hardships and small success at persuading natives to rebuild villages and churches (Gurjão, 1855: 7). In 1855, for example, Salgado worked in Barcellos to "reform some houses and the people of the Uaracá came to see him as their chief." Salgado accomplished little, however, because he did not speak local languages; he could only urge the Indians, by sign language, to return with their children to be baptized (*Ibid*.).

[39] Spruce observed cases of this in 1852/3 but he reported it as "deaths by drink" at San Carlos (1908: 378-9). During one drinking-fest, an elder named Maestro Conde spent the night in a state of extreme immobility and rigidity of his body. He had no control of voluntary

motion and he was medicated with cold wet cloths, then warm ones, then hot stones at his feet. If this was catalepsy, Venancio suffered from the same sickness as his kin in San Carlos.

[40] In fact, the first government report in October, 1857, says that there were two Christos: the true Christo who lived in Venezuela all this time (who might have been Padre Arnacoud) and the one who "imitated Christo," who was Venancio. Venancio was trying to persuade the Baniwa to emigrate to Venezuela to see the true Christo (*AA*, II, 5: 8).

[41] Very little emerges from the documents about other Baniwa shamans and whether they had a role in opposing or supporting Venancio's religion. Probably there were shamans who opposed Venancio and others who aligned with the movement.

[42] National events in Venezuela directly affected the rebellions. In early April, 1858, a political revolution occurred in Caracas; the Venezuelan President was deposed and taken prisoner. The Governor of the Province of the Rio Negro, Michelena y Rojas, was called away from his post to act as "envoy extraordinario" to Great Britain. The military Commander of the Fort of San Carlos was to replace Michelena y Rojas as interim-Governor of the Province. Michelena y Rojas had left instructions with the Commander to allow refugees from the Portuguese territory into Venezuela, in order to receive asylum (Furtado-Xavier, 6/2/58, Copia #809, *Correspondencia dos Ministros da Justiça*; Furtado-Ministro dos Estrangeiros, 7/31/58, Doc. 491, No. 53, leaf 491, *Ibid*.).

[43] De Sousa later determined from Gervasio's private correspondence that the scrivener had intended to take his life long before accompanying the Commission up the Rio Negro. The scrivener remained "cheerful" all the way on the journey, but apparently he had been nursing a series of "slights" against him by various people. There were letters found in his possession which explain all his reasons, but unfortunately I do not have copies of all of these documents.

[44] The rhetoric of "poverty and ignorance" which stands out in de Sousa's message indeed appears in many of the Governor's letters to officials from May to June, 1858. All throughout the rebellions of Venancio Christo, this

rhetoric appears over and over again, but another term which is just as frequently mentioned is the "abuses" of officials (Oficios do Presidente, in Correspondencia dos Ministros da Justica, and Furtado's "Relatorio" of 7/7/58, Relatorios da Presidencia, II: 8). It was on the basis of the supposed "ignorance" of the people that Furtado sought to improve education programs and schooling in the region.

[45] The story of the Xié did not end with the Commission's visit. According to both Xavier and the new Commander of the Fort of Marabitanas, in late September, the villages were totally abandoned (JFX, in Avé-Lallemant: 125-6; Santos Lima-Furtado, 9/21/58, AA, II, 5: 19-20). But once again, it seems clear that Xavier was exaggerating. In September, obviously, people are beginning to cut their new roças. The work is difficult; people live by their gardens for several months, until the planting is done.

[46] The Brazilian poet Antonio Gonçalves Dias wrote a laconic account of a journey he made to the URN region in mid-1860, on a special commission of the President of the Province. Dias found that the vicar of São Gabriel was quarrelling with the Commander of the Fort, for "the Padre wanted to be everything and was indignant that there would be anyone who might meet him in his region." The Vicar lived in the house of a merchant and in fact, by 1861, had abandoned all his functions in the church, school and missions.

In 1865, the Bishop of Pará wrote a lengthy report to the President and to the Ministerio do Imperio, outlining the reasons for the failures of the missions in the Province. He then proposed a ten-point program for reforming the administration of the frontier region (in Relatorios da Presidencia, III: 354-60). The basic points of the program are that the Directors of Indians and the 1845 Regulamento ought to be abolished. The church wanted complete authority in the task of "civilizing" the Indians. Missionary colonies would be formed and organized around schools of religious instruction and agricultural work. There would be two missionaries per colony, who would regulate all relations between Indians and merchants; all civil authority in the missionary colony would fall under the control of the missions

In essence, this program for missionary colonization was realized two decades later when the Franciscans set up their missions in the URN region. Also, the Salesians in the twentieth Century followed very much this program outlined in 1865.

II.E: NEW PRESSURES FROM OUTSIDERS AND RENEWED STRUGGLES FOR SELF DETERMINATION

II.E.1: Rubber Patrões and Messiahs

> One does not speak but of this, one does not think but of it. Elastic gum is the resource and the ruin of the Rio Negro. What the persecutions and the needs of the governor, and the authority which followed it have not already been able to do, elastic gum has done it: quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini. It is the law and not to another that one should attribute the actual state of the Upper and Lower Rio Negro, the rapid and irremediable decadence of its population, once so flourishing and prosperous, the abandon of any agriculture, neglected today for the work of a few months, in which they find a fictitious interest, more rapid and easier, than in the work of the land. (Stradelli, 1889: 18-19; my translation)

The rubber boom began around 1850 on the Amazon River and its large tributaries, but it did not reach the far URN until the 1860's and early 1870's. Up until then, the work which the Baniwa did for merchants had been extracting spices, production of farinha, and artwork. The Amazon historian, Arthur C. Ferreira Reis, a native of Amazonas and its leading expert on economic history, has shown statistically how rubber production increased in the Amazon from 1830 to 1911. In the first two decades of the rubber extraction, the increase was measured by kilograms, but from 1860 to 1911, the production increments were measured in thousands of tons. For instance, the increment for 1870-80 was just over 2000 tons; from 1880-90, production doubled and the increase was by 8000 tons; from 1890-1910, by a little less than double, an increase of 11,200 tons; and from 1900-1910, another 10,500 tons. In 1911, the highest all-time production was recorded:

just over 44,000 tons of rubber were produced in one year (A.C.F Reis, in Wagley, 1974: 40).

It is necessary to understand the overall system of rubber extraction before we can evaluate its impact on the people of the Upper Rio Negro. Rubber extraction and commercialization were based on a system which operated over a wide region of Amazonia. Large export establishments known as Shipping and Forwarding Houses, were located in Belém do Pará and Manaus. These Houses controlled the masses of laborers who were sent to the stands of rubber-trees. The Houses sent their own ships to collect the rubber from the Upper Rio Negro. Major trading posts on the Rio Negro in the 1870's and 1880's were located in Thomar, Barcellos and around São Gabriel (Stradelli, 1889: 22). These houses of merchandise were a short distance from wealthy stands of rubber trees. They were operated by one man or by a group of enterprising individuals, who were employed by the Shipping House. The local head of the post was known as the patrão and he hired many rubber collectors to work in a given region. Land tenure was only connected to the extraction system in a vague way:

> Legal titles to vast areas were confused due to the ancient practice common to both imperial and colonial governments of granting land titles to different persons over the same region. In other cases, these titles did not entail ownership but only the rights to utilization of forest resources. (E. Moran, in Wagley, 1974: 40)

In practice, the local patrões often assumed by squatter rights that the rivers where they had their posts were "their rivers."

The patrão would send the men of his employ out from the trading-post during the rainy seasons. They would go to the backwater villages both to trade for and to buy farinha de mandioca, to be used in future rubber-gathering expeditions; and they would contract laborers usually after offering them trade goods. More often than not, the patrões would send along cachaça (rotgut rum) to help in persuading the young men to work (Stradelli, 1889: 21; 1891: 491).

Debt-bondage and debt-servitude were the means by which the patrões gained their wealth in exploiting the Indians. There was very little difference between this debt-bondage and that of the 1850's:

> A good worker on the Rio Negro could make at a maximum from six to seven kg. per day, with the median of four, which, good year or bad, they can be paid from one to two milreis per kilo, which already is a moderate sum. But who profits of it? Certainly not the extractor who, with very few exceptions, is endebted at the beginning of production and endebted at the end but with all receives the credit necessary to maintain himself until a new collection; instead of paying, it will augment the debt and so on indefinitely. One can see a kind of people who pass life in chronic drunkenness, who do not possess a canoe or a shirt, owing in this way thousands and thousands of lire ... and the tapuya /Indian/ habituated to that, passes arms and baggage on the dependence of the new patron; not possessing anything, he repays his debt with his person .... (Stradelli, 1889: 20-21; my translation)

In 1909, the German ethnographer and traveller, Theodor Koch-Grünberg, wrote nearly the exact same words about the servitude of debtors in the rubber business on the Upper Rio Negro region and gave a number of instances of total and permanent servitude of Baniwa on the Içana River (Koch-Grünberg, 1967, I: 32-4).

For the patrão, wealth was to be had on the Upper Rio Negro:

> Its principal richness is in its forests .... The Guainía and the upper Rio Negro up to the mouth of the Cassiquiare are high lands; from the Cassiquiare

> to the mouth of the Vaupés, rich rubber stands extend on its banks, but sparse a bit after the region of the rapids. (Stradelli, 1889: 26)

On the Vaupés and Içana, patrões obtained a huge supply of farinha and laborers. Sometimes as many as 400 bushels of farinha could be obtained in one month. By the early 1900's, perhaps nearly all the adult male population of Baniwa, Baré, and Tukano were working as far away as the lower Rio Negro on extraction.

There were several very important patrões working on the Vaupés, Içana and Xié in this time. One in particular controlled the Içana River *from the 1870's through the 1920's*. A man by the name of Dom Germano Garrido y Otero was no doubt the most powerful and influential merchant in the region, while others included the Palhetas, and a Dom Agujar, whose years of influence fell between 1860 and 1880. No one lasted quite as long nor affected the Içana region as much as Dom Germano. As late as 1926, the American traveller Gordon MacCreigh wrote that Dom Germano, "the King of the Issana, holds down his ground with an army of some 400 Indians, under his command and sends to the Emperor in Manaus for an expert in balata" (MacCreigh, 1926: 314-5 and all of Chapter XXXI; Koch-Grünberg, 1967: 33 *et passim*).

Germano came from an old upper class family of North Spain and had "the manners of the hidalgos of old Seville" (MacCreigh, 1926: 313). He was a learned gentleman with a library of works including Gustav Freytag's *Quo Vadis* (Koch-Grünberg, 1967, I: 32). He and several sons established themselves in the village of São Felippe near the mouth of the Içana River sometime in the 1870's, set up a house of commerce, and went to work on the URN. They were affiliated with Shipping Houses in Manaus and later in

Belem do Pará. After a season of collecting rubber, they would ship the thousand or so Kilos by large boat (Batelão) to Santa Isabel and later Manaus (Koch-Grünberg, 1967: 32). All the outsiders--travellers, geographers, ethnographers--who knew of Germano got the impression that he and his family were truly the local elite. They benefited from the rubber boom and were able to maintain a life of comfort and ease. Meanwhile they kept direct control over large numbers of Baré, Baniwa and Tukano Indians who worked for them and without whose work, Dom Germano could not have kept the upper class style he valued.

Germano used the credit-system very effectively to maintain a constant supply of laborers "in a kind of debt-servitude" (Koch-Grünberg, 1967: 33). He was not the kind of patrão, however, who made fame and fortune by bludgeoning and mercilessly exploiting Indians; rather he gave the impression of a benevolent patriarch who sought to become a part of extensive social networks which he then used effectively to his own advantage. One way was through the system of compadrazgo, which went hand-in-hand with the patron-client relationship of the rubber extraction business.

Fictive kin ties are very important in the patron-client relationships of extractivism (Wagley, 1974: 42). The ties allow for mutual support among elites who are equals; at the same time they allow the peasants to gain financial stability by asking a more prosperous person to be compadre, in order to promote and ensure protection in times of need.

Such patron-client relationships and the institutions of compadrio appear to have developed among Baniwa by the late nineteenth Century. For several months in early 1900, Koch-Grünberg lived in Oalipere malocas on the Içana and Aiary Rivers. He lived especially in a large maloca called Cururu-cuara on the middle Aiary River, where a shaman named Mandú was chief of some forty Oalipere. Mandú and Koch-Grünberg visited the malocas of the Aiary up to the headwaters and Koch-Grünberg kept an extensive notebook on their travels. Koch-Grünberg also met the patrão Dom Germano, who explained to the German traveller that it was often the custom for white or caboclo patrões to act as priests and to baptize Indian children. The chief Mandú therefore asked Koch-Grünberg to baptize and name his younger brother's child. At the ceremony, Mandú brought forth "an old box the insides of which were decked out in cloth rags, as a niche for a small figure of holy Saint Anthony, the protective patron of the entire Içana" (Ibid.: 185). The ceremony proceeded, and Koch-Grünberg named the two children "Antonia" and "Seliana."

What appears to have happened is that the folk Catholicism of the caboclos had combined more closely with traditional practices of shamanism and, in essence, fed messianic movements which occurred from 1875 to 1900 on the Içana and Vaupés Rivers. Before examining these, it will be useful to review the more important beliefs of caboclo religion. In caboclo religion, beliefs in "Tupana" are prominent. "Tupana" is a spirit of Thunder who lives in the sky and is equated by the Christian missionaries and by every lingua-geral speaking Christian with God. "Jurupary", on the other hand, is a Tupian spirit of the forest and was identified by the Jesuits as the Christian Devil or Satan (in Wagley, 1974: 150). Such beliefs, which are still held by caboclos, could easily be assimilated to the beliefs of the Baniwa. Yaperikuli, the Baniwa

Creator and maker of thunder, could be equated with Tupana; Jurupary could be associated with the Baniwa Kuai, who is also a spirit of the forest.

Caboclos believe in the efficacy of shamans. Shamans have the powers to summon the many spirits who inhabit the unseen shadowy realms of the natural world. Shamans have the powers to control "evil" spirits, to break the malevolent holds which they might gain over human victims. Caboclos have strong beliefs in the efficacy of Catholic saints which complement these beliefs in shamans:

> Shamanism and the cult of the saints remain distinct in their own spheres, and they complement each other as part of the religious beliefs of the Amazonian population. Only the shamans have the required powers to use panema /Amazonian concept of bad luck/ as a shock caused by a bicho visagente /leading to the loss of one's shadow/, an evil resulting from the boto's influence. The saints, on the other hand, protect the community and assure its well-being. Catholic saints are given human attributes and are expected to respond to direct petitions from the laity just as one would expect of a patrão. This personalistic relationship between saint and client is the basis for common practice of making vows .... When one is in trouble (sickness, debt, job, etc.), or when one escapes unusual danger, one makes a vow to the local saint. (Wagley, 1974: 150-1)

This description and analysis could apply equally well to the mid-nineteenth Century Vaupés and Içana messianic movements. The messiahs who were caboclos or mestiços successfully introduced Catholic practices, beliefs and objects which complemented their shaman/priestly functions of baptizing, praying and blessing. In that time, the saint-cults flourished on the URN and had a major impact on the Baniwa. When the rubber patrões and the extractive economy once more descended on the Baniwa and other people, then new messiahs who were probably caboclos emerged.

The first messiah among the Baniwa probably was Anizetto. From the few documents from this time,[47] it appears that from 1875 on, Anizetto had a great influence among the Hohodene, Oalipere and Vaupés people. One single document was written about this messiah which is found in a few paragraphs in Koch-Grünberg's travel memoire written in 1903. Dom Germano told Koch-Grünberg of his own previous encounters with Anizetto, their mutual dislike, and the following account reflects both Koch-Grünberg's and Dom Germano's biases:

> On the Cubate River, Anizetto, the Savior of the Içana Indians, has his village. This Anizetto is a vagabond, a hermaphrodite, as Dom Germano has said, God knows from which people. For about twenty five years he wandered over the Içana as a messiah and passed himself off as a second Jesus Christ. It began a great movement among the Indians, who believed in him. He healed sicknesses by covering-with-leaves and anointing and visited villages in great ceremonies. He told his followers they need not work in plantations any longer, that everything would increase from himself, when he blessed the fields. From afar people came to consult him. They brought him everything that they had, gave up their work and danced day and night long from fest to fest.
>
> A military expedition which was sent out from Manaus against this movement fell a failure. A National Guard was formed from the Indians. Another military expedition was sent to find Anizetto. He would have been sent to Manaus and would have to do forced labor for a year on the construction of a cathedral. Then it was determined he was irresponsible and harmless, that he was himself idiotic and dispatched to his native homeland. Today he is no longer dangerous, but even today he has great influence among the Içana Indians who believe in him firmly, and that one can obtain much through him. His village on the Cubate is a kind of place of solitude in which he, rogue as he is, has united around him the people of different Indian tribes and regions, even from the Vaupés. (Koch-Grünberg, 1967: 203)

Anizetto preached among the Hohodene and Oalipere and had a long-lasting and very attached following from them.[48] His message emphasized the growth of gardens and the curing of sickness, both of which were shamans' powers. Besides this, Anizetto may have introduced other caboclo religious practices which quickly achieved some importance among Baniwa. Such may have been the case with the Saint Anthony dolls which Mandú showed Koch-Grünberg in 1900. Saint Anthony was also important in Vaupés messianic movements of 1883, discussed below.

Another way in which Anizetto may have united Baniwa religion with caboclo beliefs was in the "Tupana" concept. When Koch-Grünberg asked the Oalipere chief Mandú to explain the significance of certain petroglyphs found on the Içana River near the mouth of the Cubate River, the chief pointed out that the petroglyphs were done by "Christu", and this Christu was none other than Yaperikuli who was the same as "Tupana", and who was the "first Baniwa and the first human" (Koch-Grünberg, 1967: 200). Clearly, the logic of belief in messiahs had come round full circle by 1900.

Anizetto was very well-versed in shamanistic rituals besides being a great healer who, following his predecessors, called himself Christu. He was a high-shaman and such a specialist is capable of creating things and images from his thoughts. In 1976, one man who was the step-son of a shaman, explained how this modern-day miracle could occur. Speaking about a shaman's training period, this man said:

> The shaman becomes like Christu; he makes the world, water, rocks, everything, like Yaperikuli made. There are two rooms at the top of the cosmos, one next to the other, and one is the shadow of the other. In one room is the shaman while in the next is Yaperikuli. Already the

> shaman becomes like Christ and wants to make everything and to transform everything. (JF-RMW in Field Notebook, XVI: 116)

Anizetto's power to "make grow" plantations for which people would not have to work in gardens, is also the repertoire of the elder-shaman. It is especially significant because Baniwa have a myth which relates how a culture-hero named Kaali created the first manioc-plantations for mankind (see Part V, M.V.0 and M.3.1). Anizetto's preaching to the Baniwa, and his rituals on the Cubate River, seem to recall the ancient beliefs of the Baniwa about the beginning of their plantations. Kaali and Yaperikuli are never equated in Baniwa thought, for each is considered "unique" (payta-tsa), but they are both, unquestionably, saviors in Baniwa thought. Kaali saves people from hunger and its attendant suffering, while Yaperikuli saves humanity from dangerous and threatening beings and spirits. Anizetto's message to the Baniwa was very appropriate because it addressed a central question: how could Baniwa supply the rubber-patrão with farinha de mandioca when they had such limited resources to begin with? They needed to revive the belief in a person who could continually increase the production of farinha without the labor of the men, who were occupied in gathering rubber.

In the late 1870's and early 1880's, another movement was taking shape on the lower Vaupés River. It had its center on a tributary called Japú, which runs very near Juquirá-rapecuma (Alexandre Christo's former stomping grounds). At the headwaters of the Japú tributary, Vicente Christu had a maloca. He was an Arapaço, a Tukanoan-speaking Indian, a shaman, and claimed to be able to communicate with spirits of the deceased, with the saints, and with Tupana. Known as a great curer, Vicente also conducted dances with crosses which his followers believed would bring them good health, protection and relief from debt. Vicente claimed he was a prophet and among his prophecies, Vicente predicted that the white merchants and the rubber patrões would soon be thrown out of the Vaupés region (Coudreau, 1886: 199-200), and that people would no longer be exploited. Another prophecy was that missionaries would soon come to the Vaupés because Vicente had requested them from Tupana. This prophecy, in fact, was in line with a long-established belief that the missionaries could protect people from the exploitation of the slavers, the military and the merchants.

The Italian count Ermanno Stradelli visited the URN region several times in the late 1880's and early 1890's; and he left a large set of notes on the ethnography of the tribes. During one of his visits, Stradelli went to the Japú tributary to see the famous Vicente Christu. Stradelli was told that the place where the messiah lived was called "the land of the shamans" (*Payé-tendaua*) and it was the location of large flat boulders. Stradelli noted that on these boulders, offerings were left by Vicente's followers, and there was an unmistakable coalescence of beliefs in the powers of the shamans and the powers of Saint Anthony:

> Numerous are the offerings which passersby, who interrogate the Christ, leave on the rocks to propitiate the imagined dweller ... The offerings *para sia di buona past e sequendo una massina del vangelo cosi poco sequita, sopratutto in tale materia, dui suoi ministri, si contente dell'intenzione del donatore non guardando alla cosa donata, che spesso neanche un sequace di Sant'Antonio.* (Stradelli, 1891: 430)

Offerings would include bananas, farinha, etc., which Vicente Christu would accept as gifts, and in return would make prophecies for those who requested and paid. These offerings may also have been like vows (promessas) to the saints, in order to escape dangers, sicknesses and debts.

Also, on the Rio Negro, just below São Gabriel, the rich merchant Palheta had a house of commerce. Nearby, there were sacred rocks where Indian people left gifts of food as offerings. One sacred rock was called "Jurupary-ita" and another the "Rock of the shaman". Both were covered with offerings of food and in fact, a missionary had planted a cross on one of the rocks (Stradelli, 1889: 17). In 1976-7, the cult of St. Anthony still had a large following near the Japú stream, off the lower Vaupés, where an old woman (perhaps a descendant of Vicente?) claimed to be able to communicate with spirits of the deceased and the saints, and counselled those who requested her advice.

Vicente's followers came from all parts of the Vaupés region to hear, to see, to make offerings. Vicente's prophecy that the merchants would be expelled no doubt caused a backlash reaction on the part of the merchants. The Frenchman Henri Coudreau visited the Vaupés River in 1886 with an international border commission; and he reported that:

> De São-Joaquim à Jurupari-cachoeira tout le monde accourait chez Vicente Christo. Le rusé Arapasso menait douce vie. Quand les regatões ou les Pères l'interrogeaient, il niait tout. Avec sa religion réformée, ses talents de médecin, ses danses de la croix, ses conversations avec Tupan, le nouveau prophète commençait à fanatiser en sa faveur et contre les régatões, tous les Indiens du Uaupès. Le rio Negro, craignant de se faire fermer le Uaupès, fut effrayé. Ceci se passait en 1880, à peu près au moment de l'arrivée

> du P. Venancio à Taraquá. Il fut un instant question d'arrêter le prophète et de l'envoyer à Manáos pour y être jugé. Mais pour quel crime? Quelques regatões plus pratiques prirent tout bonnement Vicente Christo avec eux, le mirent aux ceps, puis le firent enfermer quelques jours dans la prison de Barcellos. Sa gloire eut à en souffrir. D'autres Christos, disciples ou rivaux, se manifestèrent. Devenu moins entreprenant, le messie du Uaupés ne cause plus aujourd'hui avec Tupan qu'en cachette. (Coudreau, 1886: 199-200; see also, Stradelli, 1890: 430; and Koch-Grünberg, 1967: 40. The merchants referred to were either the Palhetas or Dom Aguiar, both of whom were notorious for their suppression of messianic activity.)

Both Anizetto's and Vicente's movements shared very similar dominant concerns. They sought to cure people from sickness, to protect people from the merchants and patrões, to promote growth of plantations through ritualistic activity, and to relieve people from famine, hunger, and debt. The Catholic Saint Anthony was seen as a protector, as were the deities whom the shamans invoked, Yaperikuli or Tupana. Both movements had strong tones of rebellion against the white man, but neither sought to gain the white man's wealth. There was no suggestion of cargo, that ships would arrive, nor that the doors of the merchant's houses would be opened. The white man, for his part, could only respond by repressive means, by force, and by apprehending the leaders. Then, once again, the people withdrew to the forests, to survive and to pursue their religious activities in peace.

II.E.2: Franciscan Missionaries and the Harassment of the "Jurupary"

Vicente Christu prophesied that missionaries would come to the Vaupés River in 1880. Vicente said that he had requested that "Tupana" send missionaries in order to throw out the merchants and relieve people of their suffering at the hands of these exploiters. Vicente's followers danced with crosses, in the expectation that missionaries would be sent as protectors. When the missionaries finally came, they were Franciscans and their aims were to establish a great mission on the Vaupés. These missionaries did protect people from the rubber merchants, but by the same token, they had demands of their own. One of them was that the people should reject totally their traditional religious practices and accept wholeheartedly the Catholic faith. Exactly like their Franciscan predecessors in the eighteenth Century missions of the upper Rio Negro, the missionaries of the 1880's used repressive techniques to effect change. Their actions, extremist in many respects, caused a rebellion in 1883 on the Vaupés River. The Tariana people literally demanded that the missionaries leave the region altogether. Subsequently, shamans seriously questioned their beliefs in "Tupana" and "Jurupary."

From about 1860 to 1880, there were no outside missionaries anywhere in the Upper Rio Negro region. Perhaps because of the resurgence of messianic activities on the Vaupés and Içana, the provincial government contracted the Franciscans, already working in other parts of the

Amazon, to begin missionizing on the Upper Rio Negro. From 1880 to 1890, two to five Franciscans worked on the lower Vaupés, its tributary the Tiquie, and to a limited extent, among the Baniwa up to the Aiary River (Willeke, 1976: "Missões do Amazonas, 1870-94"). In 1880, Frei Venancio Zilochi took up missionary residence among Baniwa at Nossa Senhora da Guia and performed his duties among Baniwa for a year; after that, he went to the Vaupés River, and no other Franciscan returned among the Baniwa afterwards.

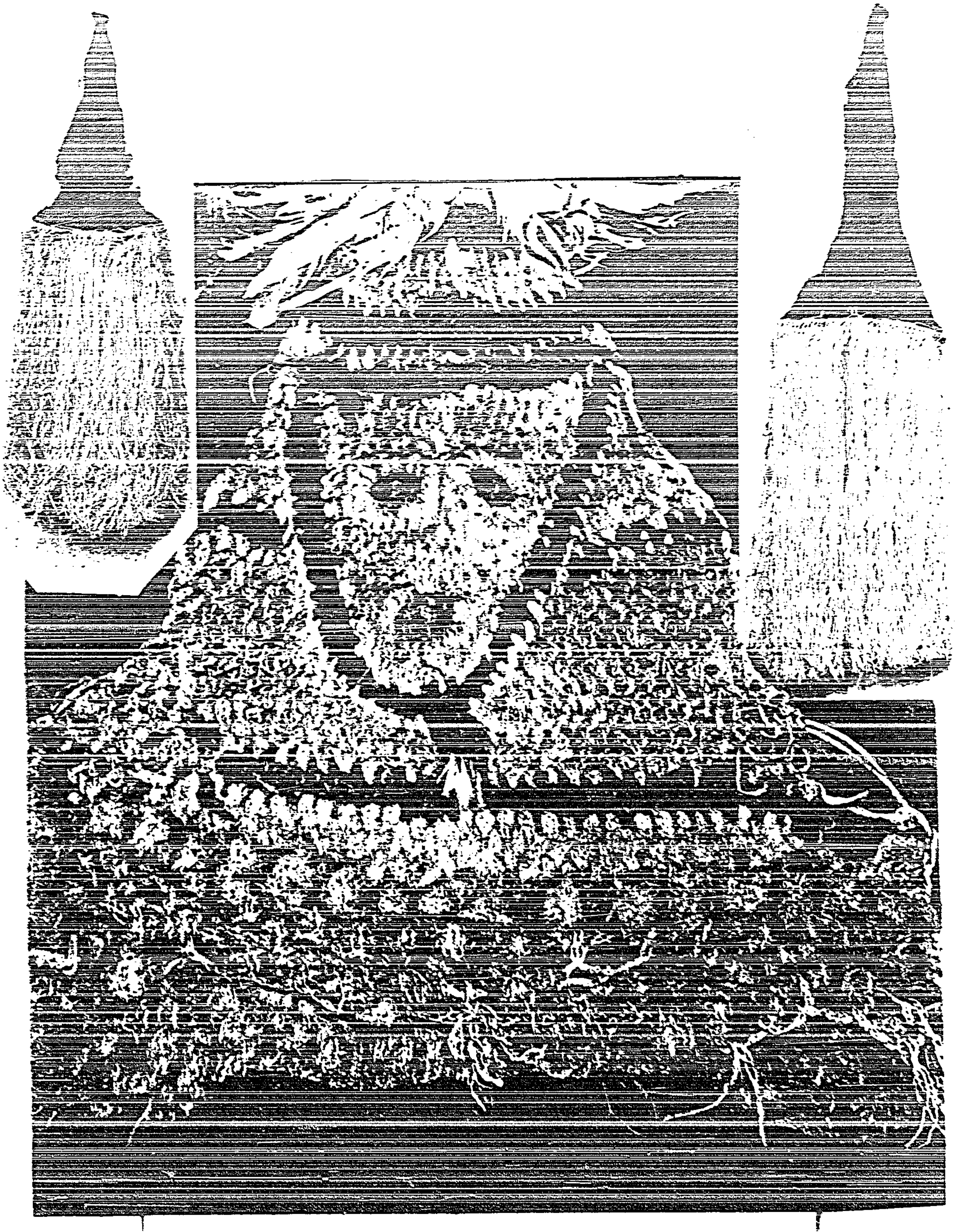
In 1880, the ageing Frei Zilochi returned to work on the Tiquie River among the Tucano and began a large project of constructing new buildings and educating the children. Soon after Zilochi returned, Frei Mathieu Camioni and Frei Iluminato José Coppi arrived on the Vaupés. Coppi and Camioni first surveyed the Vaupés River up to the borders with Colombia. Rather than forming any mission villages on the upper Vaupés, the three Franciscans decided to divide up the region of the lower-to-mid-Vaupés amongst themselves. Each agreed then to stay and work in a distinct section of the region. Each section would have a "center"-village where the missionary would reside and try to concentrate the people from surrounding locations, make schools, and so on (Coudreau, 1886: 155). Coppi stayed at Ipanoré, Camioni at Taraquá, and Zilochi on the middle Tiquie River among Tucano. By August of 1884, the three missionaries worked on organizing new missionary colonies among Tariana and Tukano.[49]

Padre Coppi was the most ambitious of the three missionaries and wanted to establish "the great mission of the Vaupés" at Ipanoré Rapids among Tariana and Tukano. Coppi persuaded families to move to Ipanoré and by late

1883, he claims that twenty five new houses were built--a total of sixty three houses, with 336 people; the second largest village on the Vaupés at the time (Colini, 1885: 141). Coppi then worked to expel the merchants from the village and ordered that they could only trade with the Indians through the missionaries. Coppi organized a system of labor whereby for one day a week, every adult of the village was required to work in the building of a large chapel, a school, a prison, a house for the missionaries, and a house for the authorities. The new village was organized into streets which bore signs with the names of saints. A police force, composed of Tariana, was organized with a Commander, a corporal and other officers. Order was enforced daily: at the first toll of the bell, everyone was expected to attend chapel, to listen to the friar's benediction (Coudreau, 1886: 157).[50]

Coppi and Camioni then organized an attack against the cult of the sacred flutes, known in lingua geral as "Jurupary". Throughout 1883, the two Padres travelled to the upper Vaupés and witnessed shamans' rituals and traditional dance-festivals. At length, they heard of the sacred flutes, and the most striking thing about the festivals of "Jurupary" at the time was the sacred masks used in the course of the ritual to represent the figure of "Jurupary" (or Kue in Tariana).

The Tariana, Tukano and Cubeo people used these masks which were made primarily of woven hair cut from young women at the time of their first menstruation rituals (see the plate, following page). Monkey fur was also woven into the masks. The name for these masks in lingua geral was Macacaraua, derived from macaca (monkey) and raua (hair, fur) (Stradelli, 1891). In Tariana there



Tariana Mask of Jurupary,
Called Putsumaka, or "Sloth-Hide"
(In the Museu Pigorini, Rome)

were two names for these masks, one meaning "sloth-hide" and the other is *Izi*, which seems to be related to the Tariana word for howler-monkey. (In Baniwa, a related Arawak language, the word is *Itchi*.)

> Le macacaraua est un manteau noir sans manches, descendant jusqu'à la ceinture, fait de poil de singe entremêlé de cheveux coupés aux jeunes filles lors de leurs premières menstruations, le tout tissu avec des fils de tucum ce qui est une opération assez difficile. Il est muni d'une tête en tronc de cône servant de masque avec un trou pour la bouche et deux pour les yeux. Le masque est surmonté de plumes formant couronne; il est diversement orné. (Coudreau, 1886: 187)

According to Colini's eye-witness report, the festivals in which the masks were worn

> are preceded by a fast of three days, applying to both sexes and all ages. At the end of that, the shamans demand of Jurupari the permission to hold the fest and invite him. The fest lasts three days and all the Indians of the surroundings take part, from several different tribes ...
>
> Padre Coppi has attended these fests twice, the first time on 17 April, 1883, in a place called Tamandua, and there took part eighteen to twenty Tariana families; the second on the 26th of May, 1883, in Uinambu, among Cubeo.
>
> It begins by sending away the women of the house where the fest is and sending them to the woods. Then three Indians take to playing paxiuba flutes to call the Jurupary to the fest. The shamans assist, ornamented and vested with masks. The music lasts one or two hours, at the end of which Jurupary comes.
>
> Several turns they come and they wear a mask similar to that of the shamans and they carry ornaments similar to those of the other Indians. The Indians and especially the children describe it with only three fingers on the hand and with the feet in the guise of an ape. When Jurupari enters the house, all is silence, while that one goes around hitting with his baton, now one now the other person. They present him with food and drink and he

> eats and drinks as the others. Finally, the signal is given to begin again the fest and he goes back to the forest whence he came. After his parting, the women return and all prepare the dance. (Colini, 1884: 43-4; my translation)

According to the "Jurupary" myth published by Coudreau in the late 1880's, the child Jurupary wandered around dressed in a monkey fur hide and for this reason, the Jurupary masks are his symbol. (The Baniwa also say so in their legends; see Part V of this thesis, for translations of Galvão's and Saake's versions of the myth of Kuai.) The sacred masks came in pairs and were considered even more taboo than the sacred flutes themselves.

The British anthropologist Stephen Hugh-Jones has written an analysis of the Jurupary rituals among the Barasana Indians of the Pira-paraná River region in Colombia. In his analysis, Hugh-Jones makes some important comments on the symbolic significance of the Jurupary masks in Tariana cosmology. Many of his remarks apply equally well to Baniwa cosmology, even though the Baniwa have never used the sacred masks. Hugh-Jones states that the Jurupary masks represent both sloths and howler-monkeys, and that these masks appear to have been made in male and female pairs. The sloths are symbolically significant because they are associated predominantly with the heavy rainy season and water. Also, they represent to the Indians animals who have great control over their digestive orifices, and hence they can be taken to represent periods of fasting. The howler-monkeys, however, appear to be complementary but opposite to the sloth in that the animal represents fire and the dry season and is, besides, an animal with little control over digestive orifices (Hugh-Jones, 1974: 183-4). The combination of the animal motifs into a representation is extremely important in initiation rituals all over the Vaupés and Içana region, because initiates are taught the proper control over their bodily orifices. This is especially important in order to manage hunger when food is scarce.

Jurupary is always depicted in myth as being an excessively "open" character; it is full of holes from which music is made. The masks and the sacred flutes have similarly large orifices, like the Jurupary of the myths. The importance of this quality of "open-ness" is again related to the rituals of initiation:

> The passage from childhood to adulthood and the corresponding process of physiological maturation involves, for people of both sexes, a process of real and/or symbolic opening up of the orifices. (Hugh-Jones, 1974: 187)

The opening-up process has a great deal to do with the formation of reproductive adults and it is not just opening which is important, but also the control over bodily orifices which is emphasized in initiation rituals (Ibid.: 188).

Part of the reason why the instruments and the masks are so prohibited to the sight of women and non-initiates is that they are believed to cause conditions of excessive open-ness of bodily orifices. A sickness can result if contact with Jurupary is un-mediated. Shamans are often designated as the mediators because they are trained in the symbolic control of opening and closing of passages. In incidences of accidental breaches of the rules prohibiting un-mediated contact with Jurupary, shamans know the protective magic to repair the threats to well-being which occur.

Padre Coppi was aware of the role of the Tariana shamans as the guardians of the sacred masks of Jurupary. In Coppi's mission at Ipanoré and at Camioni's mission at Taraquá, they first attempted to gain control over the traditional festivals of exchanges by having people request their permission before scheduling the same (Stradelli, 1891: 449). By October, Coppi was ready to extend his control over the Tariana peoples' religion by controlling the "principal symbols of the diabolic cult" (Colini, 1884: 43; Coudreau, 1886: 81-2).

In early October, a Tariana chief of Jauareté unexpectedly died. The suspected cause of death was poison, and the Tariana sought to avenge their chief's death. The suspected person was named Ambrosio Picuita. Padre Coppi heard of the affair and immediately went to arrest Ambrosio, and quickly returned to take him to trial at Ipanoré. Whether due to a threat or by willful compliance, Ambrosio was persuaded by Coppi to obtain Jurupary masks for Coppi. Ambrosio gave Coppi a box of masks and sacred flutes and pleaded with Coppi that he not show them to anyone. Then Ambrosio was given his freedom, which lasted only a brief while for he was murdered by the people of Jauareté for the treachery he had committed (Ibid.).

Coppi describes what he then did with the masks:

> Having obtained in hand the idols of the Tariana, it seemed to me convenient ... to go hunting on the spirit of the Indians and the superstition they have about it. But fearing that it would bring disorder, I began with demanding of the women if they had seen Izi. Some became confused, others' cheeks grew red, and many finally assured me they would have fled.
>
> To judge with greater knowing that which it convened to me to do, I wished to prove the effect which the image would make on their young girls. On 21 October, 1882, after school, I led the young people of both sexes in one room of the mission house, and at a convenient signal, I made come from afar a young man clothed with the mask of the Idol. The mask, that already they knew, began to beat its hands and to cry "Izi, Izi!" The girls, however surprised, were prisoners from fleeing

> but having discovered that all the exits were closed, they looked to hide one over the other.
>
> ... I began to reprove them for their superstition, and then the youth seeing that the sight of Jurupary was not producing death, as they thought, they approached it, looked well and touched it. Meanwhile with all the cries of the maidens, ... that I had exposed Izi, a shaman intervened and told the women to leave.
>
> Encouraged by the good success of this proof, on the following day, I placed in the courtyard of my house, a high tree, on top of which I placed all day long the masks. From time to time, I called one then another of the women to see their Idol. These, for fear of the shaman, and their husbands, fled and hid in their houses.
>
> But when it was the hour of prayer, fifty men came announcing the women had fled, for fear of Izi. (Colini, 1884: 202-3)

Frei Coppi then decided to go one step further in his ethnocidal schemes. At morning mass on the following day, he and Camioni set a trap for the Tariana. While Camioni guarded the chapel door, Coppi went to the front of the chapel, and in front of all the women and children united there, he held up in his right hand a cross and in his left hand he held up a Macacaraua for everyone to see. He then exclaimed: "Which of the two is more the truth? It's this!! It's this!!" gesticulating with the cross (C. Pinheiro, 1898). The Tariana shamans in the audience were ready for Coppi's foolishness. They quickly blew protective smoke over the people in the church and went after the friars who had the masks (Coudreau, 1886: 183-4). Coppi and Camioni held crucifixes of bronze and threatened the advancing shamans with the crosses, "beating them over their heads" (Ibid.). The friars then barricaded themselves in the sanctuary of the chapel, while the shamans and the men grouped together outside the chapel. The women fled to the forest. One Tariana shaman then took a shotgun and tried to fire at Coppi, but the shells were faulty and nothing happened. Taking advantage of the moment and expecting worse if they stayed, Coppi and Camioni quickly went outside the sanctuary and towards the port. Both got in a canoe and left Ipanoré for Taraquá, Coppi promising as he left that they would never return to Ipanoré (*Ibid*.).

What happened immediately afterwards to the people who unwillingly saw the masks is a matter of speculation. Certainly, the Tariana shamans performed curing rituals to protect people from the serious ailments which were around. According to Coudreau, the shamans imposed a general period of fasting, "for one month" (Coudreau, 1883: 184). Then, visions of Jurupary started a few days after these events.

One old shaman of Ipanoré announced that people should submit to the friars and renounce Jurupary and all festivals. Another shaman of Ipanoré rejected this view. A shaman of Taraquá was reported to have seen the spirit of Jurupary. In the midst of a rainstorm, the shaman was supposed to be underneath a tree, when:

> ... Il vit alors passer pardessus les plus hautes branches de la forêt, le Jurupari inférieur, celui de l'enfer, revêtu du macacaraua sacré. "Tu te promènes?" lui demande tranquillement l'intrépide Tucano. "J'en ai la permission de Tupan," répond le Jurupari inférieur. "Où est Tupan?" "Là-haut, au ciel." "Et toi, où habites-tu?" "Là, au fond," dit le Jurupari inférieur, en montrant la terre, "veux-tu venir?" "Non," dit l'Indien qui commençait à s'épouvanter. "Pourtant tu y viendras," dit le dieu de l'enfer en continuant sa route, "tu y viendras si tu continues à te comporter mal envers le grand Jurupari. Prends garde de ne pas pleurer un jour dans les tourments de ma demeure," répétait, en s'éloignant, le dieu de l'enfer.

> "On profane les mystères, les ennemis de Jurupari triomphent, vous servez nos ennemis ou bien vous êtes indifférents, le grand Jurupari, le puissant, le terrible Jurupari est irrite contré vous." Le vieux paget, père de Thomas le paget, était sur le point de perdre connaissance, mais la voix se tût, et le dieu de l'enfer s'évanouit dans l'espace. (Coudreau, 1886: 200-1)

All along, in Tariana history, two sorts of ritual activities had been developing at the same time: the Jurupary rituals and the dances of the crosses. Now they were forcibly and directly opposed. "Tupana" had communicated with a great shaman and had sent missionaries to the Vaupés region. The same missionaries had abused sacred ritual objects which were central to Tukano and Tariana traditional life. A watershed moment had been reached, and the masks would not have the same sacredness which they had had before being exposed. An important symbol of Tariana religion had been damaged even though the central beliefs had not been attacked.

One of the most serious, unfortunate and persistent errors to come from these Franciscan crimes is that the "Jurupary" has been labelled by outsiders as the "Christian devil" ever since. The blame falls on the missionaries who began the erroneous equation. It was not until 1908 that the Catholic bishop of Amazonas made a declaration to the effect that "there was an error in identifying Jurupary with the demon" (Da Costa, 1908: 53). It seems to have been the result of Ermanno Stradelli's publication of "The Legend of Jurupary" several years before. The missionary repression and error persisted for several generations after these declarations, however, and even as late as 1976-7, both Salesian missionaries and Protestant evangelists had not heard of Da Costa's testimony and continued to harrass people about their beliefs in "Jurupary."[51]

Endnotes

[47] There are very few documents from the URN for 1875-80. I could not find a single document specifically about Anizetto's activities in any of the libraries and archives in Manaus. The documents would most likely have been in the Arquivo Publico, but I could find nothing which made even the slightest reference to disturbances on the Içana in 1875-8. Unless the documents are really in the military archives or the police archives (neither of which allowed me entrance), then they have been sent to Belem do Pará or are lost.

[48] In 1976, the Hohodene told me nothing specifically about Anizetto. There were some stories about magical individuals of the Cubate River, and there may have been additions to the Hohodene oral tradition. I neglected, however, to focus questions specifically on the Cubate.

In 1927, Nimuendajú was told that the Hohodene of the Cubate River had come "in previous times" from the Aiary River, by way of the Carurú stream, off the lower Aiary, the headwaters of which connect by trail to the Cubate River. Nimuendajú was told that these Cubate River Hohodene treated the white people of São Felippe, "com grosseiria e arrogância" and that no white person could even visit them (Nimuendajú, 1950: 125-6).

[49] Frei Coppi had previously missionized with the Arara-people on the Rio Preto and Madeira, and was known as a disciplinarian and a difficult person to get along with (Willeke, 1976: 163). Prior to that, Coppi had spent fourteen years in Bolivia (Coudreau, 1886: 152).

[50] A gross violation of traditional customs occurred in Coppi's cemetery scheme. Coppi organized a "bizarre enclosure" with "les galeries interieures couvertes ... Quand les galeries auraient été pleines, on aurait transporté les ossements dans une autre construction bizarre, ressemblant assez à un grenier d'abondance" (Coudreau, 1886: 151).

[51] In the 1880's there was a revival of ethnographic interest on the part of scientific travellers in the URN region. The Italian count Ermanno Stradelli is probably the best known of the travellers, along with the Frenchman Henri Coudreau. Stradelli and Coudreau were part of

the international commission chosen to demarcate the limits of Venezuela and Brazil in 1889. Stradelli travelled widely over the URN-Upper Orinoco region. He seems to have spent a great deal of his time on the Vaupés and its tributaries but never travelled on the Içana or Xié.

Besides these reports and manuscripts, Stradelli and the Franciscan Coppi made large collections for museums. The catalogues for both of these are in the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro (Stradelli, 1891; Colini, 1884).

One of the outstanding points in nearly all of the URN documents of the 1880's and 1890's is the quantity of information they contain relative to the "Jurupary." The principal ethnographic sources mentioned above all focus attention on the religion of Jurupary. Perhaps Jurupary was in fact more "visible" during this time and perhaps this was related to the resurgence of messianic movements.

Stradelli was fascinated with the stories and rituals of Jurupary. Prior to Stradelli's entry and work on the Vaupés, Coudreau had published a version of the "Jurupary" myth which had been told to him by Coppi. When Stradelli read the version, he was both surprised and dismayed that such a distorted account should be left in the public version. Stradelli then got his good friend, named Maximiano Roberto, of Jauareté, to tell how the story really went. Roberto's father was a Manao, and his mother was a Tariana. Stradelli says Roberto had a manuscript written and ready to give him (Stradelli, 1890: 452); Stradelli says he simply translated the entire manuscript into Italian. The whole manuscript was:

> un lavoro destinato a modificare profundamente tutto cio che si conosce su questi indigene ed a portare forse un'immensa luce sulle provenienza. (Stradelli, 1890: 453)

Later Maximiano invited Stradelli to his maternal grandmother's house where, one evening, a number of natives of the Vaupés, who considered Maximiano their true chief, united and began recollecting the legend of Jurupary:

> from one and from the other, confronting and ordering the diverse narrations and submitting them to the criticisms of the various Indians reunited, so that now one can be faithfully assured of presenting this indigenous legend .... (*Ibid*.: 453)

The natives were Tukano and Tariano who spoke *lingua geral*.

Since the time of Stradelli's published version, several anthropologists have dismissed the reproduction of the legend as "fanciful" (e.g., Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1968). As far as the content of the story goes, I feel that it agrees in large part with the traditional "Jurupary" legends on record, and this includes the Baniwa versions which I recorded in 1976-7, on over twenty occasions. In its style of narrating, the "story-telling round" which Stradelli reported in the 1890's was an experience I was familiar with in 1976-7 (see Part III.C.3, below, for a recounting of such a "round"). And it is very significant that the latest collection of Vaupés myths written by two Desana elders (B. Ribeiro, n.d.) contains much of the same information which Stradelli presented in 1891. Reichel-Dolmatoff is therefore not to be accepted on this point.

II.F: Epilogue

Because of practical limitations of space, this narrative must end with the early twentieth Century. In several other parts of this thesis, more detailed consideration is given to recent history (see I.C, D.2, and E.2; III.D.1), and the reader can obtain other information from the works of Biocca (1965), Galvão (1959), Nimuendajú (1950), Oliveira and Galvão (1973), Saake (1956, 1958, 1959-60, 1964, 1968), and Sousa (1958, 1959). These works have a great deal of information on recent changes in Baniwa religious life, and it would be redundant to report their findings here. Also, since leaving the field in 1977, I have come to realize that far more can be learned from a systematic study of religion in life-histories, and I hope to undertake such a study in the near future. For the present purposes, this long-range history has brought to light important, direct linkages between historical events and Baniwa religion and cosmology, which warrant a more systematic study of the central aspects of religious belief. Part III is devoted to such a study.

Before proceeding, however, we wish to draw attention to the present-day struggles of the Baniwa for their rights to land. These struggles are related to traditional religious concerns, especially spiritual attachments to ancestral homelands, referred to in all oral histories and myths. It seems that recent colonization by missionaries and the National Government in the URN pose very grave threats to Indian land rights which could become the focus of a new historical drama in the region.

Briefly, the region in which the Aiary River is located has historically been of importance because of its being very near the border of three nation-states: Venezuela, Brazil, and Colombia. The national government of Brazil has always considered the region as being within its territorial boundaries, although only the First Commission of Limits in the 1920's established the locations of the border with any accuracy.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of people in the region are indigenous should mean, also, that the region would come to be defined by the Statute of the Indian as an Indian Park or Indian Reserve. Although it is partly demarcated as a forest reserve, the region has never been recognized as an Indian reserve. This lack of adequate definition has led to real confusion in the recent past. Salesian missionaries entered the region in 1915, for example, and immediately assumed that their new mission posts were somehow on "their land". They were duly informed by the Service for the Protection of the Indian (S.P.I.) that this was not the case, and that the villages where they were making missions were on Indian lands. As recently as 1974, however, Salesians still made claims to vast tracts of land on the Vaupés, the Içana and Aiary Rivers. Such ownership, they claimed, was guaranteed to them by titles which the Bishop of Amazonas, Dom Miguel Alagna, guarded in Manaus (Silverwood-Cope, 1974: 40). While I lived on the Aiary River, the Salesian bishop visited in 1976, and made it clear that Salesian "dominion" over Hipana (Uapui) village was being accomplished by erecting a large cross on the village plaza, and declaring the village the "mission" of the Aiary.

Whether this confusion over land status and ownership will ever be resolved is open to question. The latest threats to Indian lands arise directly from this situation and are perhaps more severe for the Indians than any of the others discussed in this chapter. To conclude, I can do no better than to quote Dr. Berta Ribeiro who mentions in a recent book about Desana mythology (written by two Desana elders) "four new perils" which the people of the Upper Rio Negro region are faced with now:

> In view of the controversial projects of "rational use of the Amazonian forests", the Indians of the Vaupés and Içana have to strengthen greatly their vigilance in order not to be engulfed in a new wave of expansion as potentially harmful or greater than that of rubber. The seats of the Salesian missions of Jauareté, Pari Cachoeira (on the Tiquie River), Carara poço (on the Içana), Taraquá (on the Vaupés) already transformed into districts of the municipio of São Gabriel, with meteorological stations, post offices, thermo-electric companies, hospitals, guest-homes, can evolve into administrative centers of this municipio, bringing in a caboclo population which will rapidly dominate indigenous lands where these missions are located.
>
> Another risk is represented by the opening of the Estrada Perimetral Norte, which will also cut the reserve, still not demarcated ... bringing in an avalanche of workers wanting land. Until today, access to the area was made principally by the planes of FAB, which is opening innumerable airstrips in this frontier region, for the river transport is almost impracticable due to the great and dangerous rapids.
>
> A third danger is the opening of the area ... to lumber exploitation by large foreign companies ... Besides the ecological disaster, ... this will constitute a terrible threat to what remains of tribal autonomy to the Indians of the Upper Rio Negro, who recently began the long road of holding on to the self-command of their destiny.
>
> A fourth threat, equally critical, is represented by the so-called emancipation of the acculturated groups, or of some Indians individually, in the name of their presumed self-determination. The

> Indians of the Vaupés are conscious of this threat and certainly will do everything to obviate it, guarding their rights to possession of lands on which they have lived for thousands of years and to their traditional ways of life as ethnic and cultural groups which have resisted the centuries of attack, conserving their tribal *ethos*.
>
> Finally, there is talk of the dismemberment of this region for the constitution of a federal territory which would culminate in the potentializing of all these threats. B. Ribeiro, ed., *Os Indios das Aguas Pretas*: xvii-xviii; my translation)

HISTORY AND RELIGION OF THE BANIWA PEOPLES OF THE UPPER RIO NEGRO VALLEY

VOLUME II

A DISSERTATION
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PART III: THE MYTH OF KUAI

A. Introduction

In Part II, several messianic movements in Baniwa history, which occured in the mid- and late-nineteenth Century, were reviewed. The first messiah preached a message of redemption and salvation of the Baniwa from the suffering and debt-bondage they were experiencing at the hands of white oppressors. Venancio Cristo's power was based on claims of a direct communication with God for whom he acted as a mouthpiece in Baniwa requests for pardon. We noted the close similarity between Venancio's transformative experiences of dying and rebirth and that of traditional shamans' experiences. The second movement was centered on the messiah's exceptional powers of curing sicknesses. Besides, the messiah's claim to be a provider, causing the magical growth of plantations, worked well in an area all too conscious of its poverty and famine. At the turn of the century, messianic ideas seemed to center on acquisition of material goods, and this is related to the impact of white merchants and traders. In the 1950's, the Baniwa were still moved by the last when the American evangelist Dona Sofia Muller came and preached salvation. She claimed to have "come from heaven, being sent by God," and her cures of Baniwa ailments turned them towards her. In Part I.E, we noted her conflicts with the shamans on the Aiary River whose powers of "salvation" rivalled her own.

In this review, the themes which emerge can clearly be understood through the assembly of facts of the matter, brute as they are; yet there is still this: all the messiahs based their claims on an exceptional power to mediate between God and the suffering. Through this, they could cure, advise, and promise hope for a better condition. The extraordinary faith and credibility Baniwa place in such mediatory experiences led me initially to ask what in their myths, shamans' practices and cosmology supports and gives this faith its foundation. The answer I am urging is found in one central myth that the Baniwa tell, the myth of Kuai. Kuai "began sicknesses" and left misfortunes in the world for people today. The myth of Kuai's life and death models much of shamans' curing practices. The story of Kuai is the single most important basis there is in Baniwa belief for understanding these messianic experiences. This chapter then is devoted to a systematic ethnographic presentation and intensive analysis of the myth.

The sacred story of Kuai is a central myth. A more technical term is that it is modular. The myth is told with no significant, essential variation in story content to explain four of the central life-concerns that the Baniwa have. These are:

I. Reproducing for Descendants. One of the principal functions of telling myths is to explain how conditions, institutions and orders were begun in the mythical times and given for all people today. The story of Kuai can be told to explain the beginnings of the following: male and female menstruation; the birth of children; the growth of the earth; the beginning of misfortunes in the world; the separation of the spirit-world from human; and the passage of souls at death.

II. The Animal Wamūndana. In the long ago times described in myth, it is said the animals were people; they had the bodies of animals but were people. They walked with humans, holding festivals with them, and teaching them the melodies that were their speech. Kuai, or Wamūndana, was such "an animal-person." However, Wamūndana was more than one animal; it was many animals together, collectively, as one being. The story of Wamūndana explains the life of the "animal-person" and how it came to be reproduced in the sacred flutes that the Baniwa have today.

III. The Beginning of Sicknesses. Serious ailments that people get today "began with Kuai" who is, the Baniwa say, the "owner of sicknesses." Shamans, in their cures of such sicknesses procure the spirit of Kuai. From these encounters, they are able to cure in this world. The story of Kuai explains not only how sicknesses began, but how they may be cured by shamans in rituals.

IV. Rites of Initiation. The story is told to explain both male and female initiation rituals which people do today, and, in fact, there is a very close set of correspondences between these rituals and their descriptions in the story.

It is clear that the story explains much more than what can be directly related to "salvation" concerns and messiahs. Section C of this chapter is devoted to a systematic account of each of these four topic areas. In it, I discuss the situations when the story is told; the semantic features of each of the four topic areas; how the story serves as explanation, and how the explanation is related in an ongoing sense and in multiple ways to Baniwa understanding of their experiences.

Because the story is modular, each of the four topic areas easily shades one into the other. Needless to say, this makes the tasks of interpreting the story difficult, one which has gone through several stages and taken several distinct turns.

As it is told, the story may be related in parts or as a whole from a definite beginning to a conclusion. It depends primarily on which of the four topics one is explaining. The story is not singular in this respect; several myths may be told in "pieces" as the Baniwa say, or completely. (Two other examples are given and may be found in Part V: M.1.0, and M.4.0.) On the basis that the story is normally told in pieces, we may develop criteria for dividing the story into phases of the plot, or episodes.

In Section B, of this Chapter, I present a resumé of the story, based on the version presented in this thesis. Following the resumé is a discussion of the episode divisions of the story.

In Section D, my focus is on the tellers of the story and performance. Two Hohodene elders on the Aiary River taught me most of what I know of Baniwa mythology, ritual and belief. One of them is the narrator of the version I use. I describe the life-stories of the two, the historical relations among their villages, and the roles they have had as initiators of children, as shamans, and as ritual specialists. Finally, I discuss their styles in narrating the story.

In Section E, immediately preceding the narrative, the locations in the story are given, as place-maps with a discussion of significances of places. Also, there is a drawing of the cosmos which one needs to have in order to understand the movements of characters in the myth.

Finally, I present the narration; and the efforts made there are in the accurate transcription, translation, and ethnographic noting, both performance and detail. This follows the concern of scholars who do ethnopoetics: for instance, Munro Edmunson's presentation of the Popul Vuh (1971) was one source of inspiration, among others. One of the principal advantages to come of this will be in the interpretation of the myth.

B. Content and Episode Divisions

I heard the story of Kuai told on approximately twenty different occasions during thirteen months of fieldwork with the Baniwa of the Aiary River. Three-quarters of these occasions were interview situations when the questions I posed to elders relevant to the four topics outlined above led to the narrating of the story. A dozen different elders of three different villages told me the story in this manner (the historical relations among villages I shall discuss in Section D). Narrators varied considerably in the details of the story; details could be added almost ad infinitum to any part.

There are two other versions of the Kuai myth recorded from the Baniwa of the Içana River by E. Galvão and Wm. Saake, both in the 1950's. In Part V, I include translations of them. They are true variants of what I recorded. The story differs altogether in certain parts, while in others it is entirely similar.

In the resumé to follow, I mark in the left-hand margin story divisions by letters and by numerals. The letters correspond to the principal points where narrators themselves marked the story as beginnings, endings, or transitions.

The numerals mark places where narrators could begin or end if a question were framed specifically enough to call for only that part of the story to which the question directly referred.[1]

Resumé of the Story

A. Yaperikuli's knowing creates his child Kuai. Yaperikuli eats coca and thinks towards his aunt Amaru. Yaperikuli's knowing enters her and makes her with child. She bears Kuai until ready for birth, but she has no vagina. Yaperikuli then gets patawa palmwood spines and breaks into her, making an opening for the child to come out. She dies but later Yaperikuli revives her. Yaperikuli takes the Kuai-child away from her and sends it to be nourished by a forest-animal. As the child is taken away, its body begins to make song when it functions. Not being of this world, Yaperikuli makes Kuai go away to live and grow up in the sky as a spirit, the soul of his father. A long time then passes by.

B.1. Another day, four young children make and play musical instruments. They tie together bumblebees and wasps and make them fly in and out of earthpots. As they fly, the bees drone and the children dance and whip their legs. Kuai watches them from the sky, descends, and appears to them as a white man. At his request, they play their instruments. Kuai calls it nonsense and announces that he is really Kuai. They request that he make his song, but he will do so only on condition that they stay restricted from eating pepper for three dry seasons. When they affirm they can, Kuai sings four melodies for them, and with the songs Kuai strikes the children with whips. He then gives them food to sniff for their fast, warns them not to tell Yaperikuli, and leaves them to return in three days.

B.2. The days pass, Kuai's mark arrives, and they see him come from the sky. Arriving on their village plaza, he sings the same four songs, staying with them from noon to 1:00 P.M. and leaves them. Yaperikuli then comes, calls the children to eat but they do not come to eat or to drink. When this happens the next day, Yaperikuli knows they see Kuai and so prepares for Kuai's return. Yaperikuli will act as mediator between the children and Kuai. They await Kuai at the House-Door; at noon Kuai descends, comes up from the port, and goes into the house to the middle where he stays. Yaperikuli hides before Kuai comes up, then bursts in on Kuai and asks: who he is, how they are to stay with him, how he lives. Kuai announces his identity, the three dry season restrictions, that their food will be all forest-fruits. Kuai sings for them once more, this time all of his body sings together in a great roar. He then leaves them, but will return at the end of the three dry seasons, to make the festival called his "summons."

B.3. They prepare beer for the festival, then Kuai descends, gradually approaching, with rains appearing, and arrives at dusk. Kuai summons the children, singing in an ominous and mysterious song. He stays the night and so began to live with them for the remainder of the dry seasons. He gets tree-fruits for their food. On the third dry season, he takes the four children, still restricted, with him to Hipana on the Aiary River. There, he climbs to the top of a great uacú fruit-tree and picks the ripe nuts, breaking their shells, and throwing them to the children below. They gathered them, and would have returned to their ritual house at Enipan on the Içana River. But three of the children think the fruit is good to eat. They make a fire, roast and eat the uacú. The smoke of their fire rises to Kuai, causing him sickness. He lays down as if dead, all of his body sings out together in a great song, and great streams of spit, his sickness, fall from all of the holes of his body. Then quickly he revives, descends the tree, and causes a great rain to fall. He lays his mouth on the ground and it becomes a huge rock cave. He calls the children inside. The three who ate the fruit enter Kuai's mouth; the fourth stays outside, sees Kuai's eye closing, and calls out to his companions to come out. But it was done, Kuai's mouth shut, he had eaten the three children. Without delay, he flies back to the house at Enipan, and regurgitates the three children into baskets on the patio, singing mournfully as he flies. Then Kuai leaves, returning up to the sky to stay. Yaperikuli knows immediately something has gone amiss, returns to Enipan, and finds the eaten flesh of the three children. One child only remains with Yaperikuli. A long time then passes.

C.1. Later, Yaperiluli decides to have their fasting come to an end and so prepares to invite Kuai to bless (blow spells on) pepper and food so that they can eat. Yaperikuli makes statue-images of the three eaten children and sets them on a log; with them, he puts ornaments and headdresses. He scrapes off white maggots from the rotten flesh of the children and tells a small fly to carry and give it to Kuai.

The fly reaches the sky but as it enters the Sky-Door, the door of Kuai's house, Kuai traps it inside with him and throws back down the maggots. Yaperikuli waits calmly, then sends a smaller fly with the same maggots to Kuai again. Kuai looks out as the fly announces Yaperikuli's request, then comes out and gobbles up the maggots. Kuai agrees to come, for the children have already suffered, and they may now eat pepper. Three days hence Kuai will descend.

C.2. They prepare beer for Kuai's festival, called the "Coming-out." On the appointed day, Kuai descends, gradually approaching with song, until he arrives. Yaperikuli greets him and announces the request to bless pepper and Kuai agrees to begin. Kuai blesses, Yaperikuli and two brothers hear him chant the spells all night until dawn. Kuai's blessing is done in sets, spaced equally with sets of dancing and singing. In the songs, Kuai sings that he, the owner, has come "with shame" and will not go until the people are "newly born." He sings of his whips, as Yaperikuli and he whip each other as part of the dance. At dawn, Kuai's spell-chanting is finished; he gives them pepper to eat, then speaks to Yaperikuli that he knows Yaperikuli is preparing to do away with him. It is impossible for Yaperikuli to kill him, Kuai says, for his body consists of indestructible things, pain-giving things, and things by which people die. With only the flames of fire can Kuai be killed. Yaperikuli acknowledges this, and they return to dancing and singing as the Sun gets higher in the sky. Kuai sings a fourth and last time, then Yaperikuli leads him around to a great fire they have secretly made. Suddenly, Yaperikuli pushes Kuai into the fire and throws three huge trees on top. The fire was enormous, it finishes Kuai, but he leaves venom in the burning-place, venom by which people get sickness today. Kuai's spirit ascends to the sky in a great song, never more to return to the earth.

C.3. As Kuai is burning, he tells Yaperikuli to return later to his burning-place; from it will come the paxiuba tree, which will be the source of the sacred flutes that people have today to produce Kuai's song. Yaperikuli returns to Hipana and suddenly the tree breaks open the earth and shoots out and up, connecting with the sky, making the noises of guns as it goes. Treebark and vines, the companions of the paxiuba, also came out. Yaperikuli then procures animals to cut the tree, but has difficulty finding the right one, until a small woodcutting animal can, and marks off all the sections of paxiuba up to the sky. These sections are the pieces for the sacred flutes which men play today, and each pair or triplet has its own name. Yaperikuli then has trouble breaking the marked paxiuba, for he knows that when it would fall, it would kill him. Thus he sends woodpecker who breaks it well in the middle with such force that all the pieces of Kuai fall to the earth. Yet they do not make music; they are difficult to blow. Yaperikuli gets Harpy Eagle feathers and ties them to the flutes; then he gets white hawk feathers and ties them. He takes up the flutes and then produces the song. A long time then passes as Yaperikuli continues making all the flutes.

D.1. Then, Kuai's mother, Amaru, wanted to take away the flutes. Yaperikuli instructs his son that he will give him soapwood for him to bathe with at dawn, then they would play the flutes. Amaru overhears this and goes before the boy arises, finds the flutes, puts on the ornaments, and sounds off the flutes. Yaperikuli hears them, runs out to see, and chases after them in anger. Poison-darts then shoot out of the flute-mouths, turning Yaperikuli away. The women take away the flutes and their sound is heard all over the world. They flee with Kuai and ascend to a hill at the headwaters of the Uaraná stream (off the upper Aiary). There they make a settlement with a fence surrounding it. Already then, their youngest sister had begun to menstruate, and so the women begin to bless her food in their house. They begin her initiation with Kuai, as Yaperikuli watches them in anger. He is their enemy now for they are with Kuai, and so he goes downriver to
D.2. Tunui, a large hill on the Içana River. There he would get poison-darts with strong venom from their owner Káthiwa. He would prepare to make war on Amaru. Yaperikuli demands all of Káthiwa's baskets of arrows in order to kill Amaru. Káthiwa tells him such is not good; instead he would give Yaperikuli only half a basket of arrows that would surely kill. The two go to try the arrows: Káthiwa's arrow pierces the earth, cutting through like a bolt of lightning. Yaperikuli's arrow shoots up to the Sky-Door and returns zigzagging again like lightning. Pleased with the arrows and ready, Yaperikuli joins together all the animals there are who are his kin, and they ascend back up to the hill. There, at dusk, Yaperikuli transforms into a winter-frog and calls out to his aunt that he has come. They await at a fishtrap by the riverbank until

dawn, when they would attack. The women stay inside the settlement, happily blowing away on the flutes.

D.3. They bless their youngest sister's pepper and food; all night long, they bless with a single companion. At dawn, they give out the food and then Yaperikuli begins the attack. The armadillo smashes through the settlement-fence and the others follow into the house. The women blow darts through the flutes and turn them back, but Yaperikuli pursues to take them away. They push and shove, back and forth, run and kill, until Yaperikuli no longer can see his aunt, and throws her up to the sky and she dies. Another woman takes a flute and puts it up her vagina; Yaperikuli pursues and smashes her dead. Another runs away, Yaperikuli pursues her in the same way, catching and taking away the flute, until all of them are regained. When done, Yaperikuli comes back and throws four women to four directions of the sky. All of them, are dead. Thus the men got back Kuai.

D.4. A long time later, Yaperikuli comes back to test Amaru to see if she knows Kuai's music any longer. He makes his kin sing, and Amaru thinks it is Kuai. Yaperikuli asks her how does the music go--she thinks, she blows her hair, she tries to remember, but she has sadly forgotten.

Later, Yaperikuli finishes ornamenting the sacred flutes. As each makes its song, he cuts the hair, fur, and feathers of their animal namesakes and attaches them to the flutes. When finished with all of them, they are ready as "people" and people today can take and play them.

End Much later, as Yaperikuli finished living in the world, he gives the sacred flutes for the people of today. Still later, Yaperikuli procures the ancestors of real people with these flutes. Then Yaperikuli goes away, to live forever more in the sky.

So ends the story of Kuai.

To begin this discussion, the whole story is above all about the creation of people, how people were "made" in the ancient times. This creation describes a process of differentiation between Animals, People and Spirits. The Baniwa believe that long ago, Animals, People and Spirits were one and the same and that they lived with humans in this world, teaching them the melodious songs that were their speech, instructing them in their ways of living and imparting their knowledge. Through the transformation which occured in a great fire, the spirits and animals left the earth, ended their living with humans and went to live separate existences. Kuai left the paxiuba tree and from it Yaperikuli remade people, as living representatives of Kuai's once and former existence in this world. These "people" are also known collectively as Kuai and with them, the ancestors of all Baniwa came to be born. Yaperikuli left these Kuai as the sacred flutes for all living descendants in the world. With them people today hold festivals and teach their children in initiation, as Kuai did in the beginning. Thus the Baniwa say, "Yaperikuli left Kuai with us to teach the children."

If the story is about the creation of people in the beginning of time, it is at the same time true that the Baniwa today live and become people through much the same kind of process of creation and differentiation as it is described by the myth. Thus people say that men and women conceive and bear children, give birth, make children grow, and later come to die much as it is explained by this myth. When they die, their souls live immortal existences in sib ancestral houses. Their bodies become symbolically incorporated with the bodies of the patri-sib ancestors, specifically represented in the sacred flutes. Thus they become ancestral people. Baniwa in short understand passages in the life-cycle through this myth.

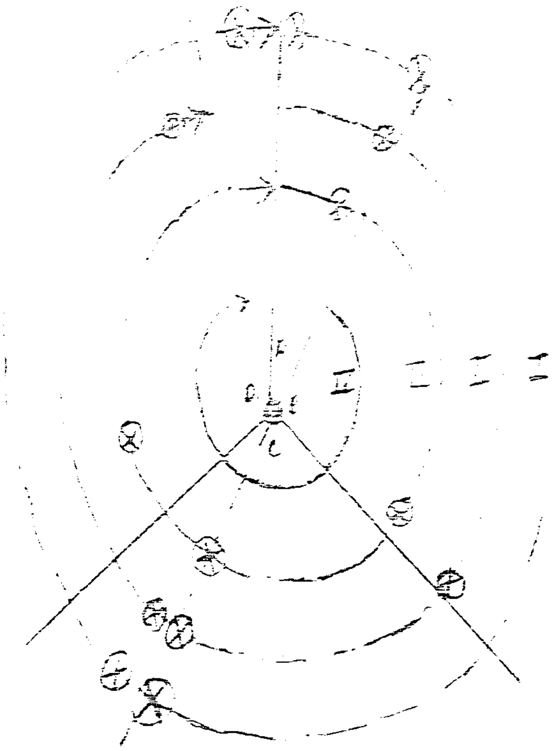
In these life-cycle passages, people become vulnerable to sickness and possible death, for passage is a time when the Animals and Spirits come to live with humans, look on them, and this is dangerous for they give humans sickness.

There is always the necessity of having a mediator in life-passages to protect against sickness. Kuai is above all other spirits and animals, the "Owner of Sickness," including the most severe illnesses that there are in the world. In the myth, every severe sickness and death which occurs, happens at transitions in the life-cycle, when characters become "close" to Kuai.

In broad terms, these general topics form the principal content of the myth and in Section C, I will explain each of these in greater detail. In the course of several years of hearing and wondering about the myth, I have come to realize that much of what we might call a Baniwa "world-view"--"their picture of the way things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society" (Geertz, 1973: 127) is contained and explained in the myth, and if key symbols were to be found for Baniwa "religion," they would be in this myth and in its attendant beliefs and rituals.

Narrators may tell the story in a variety of ways to explain the same topic or to explain different topics. In the diagram on the following page, I have set out in linear form the several ways different narrators could take general topic areas--the four outlined in the Introduction--and give partial or total explanation of them through the myth. The story beginnings and endings fall under the appropriate letter/numeral corresponding with my resumé. Where narrators stated something critical about the topic in the course of their telling, I mark with crosses at the appropriate points.

The circular diagram contains the four general topics, but collapses the multiple possibilities of narrating into single lines, again marking where narrators told something critical about the topic. Dividers in the circular diagram


D
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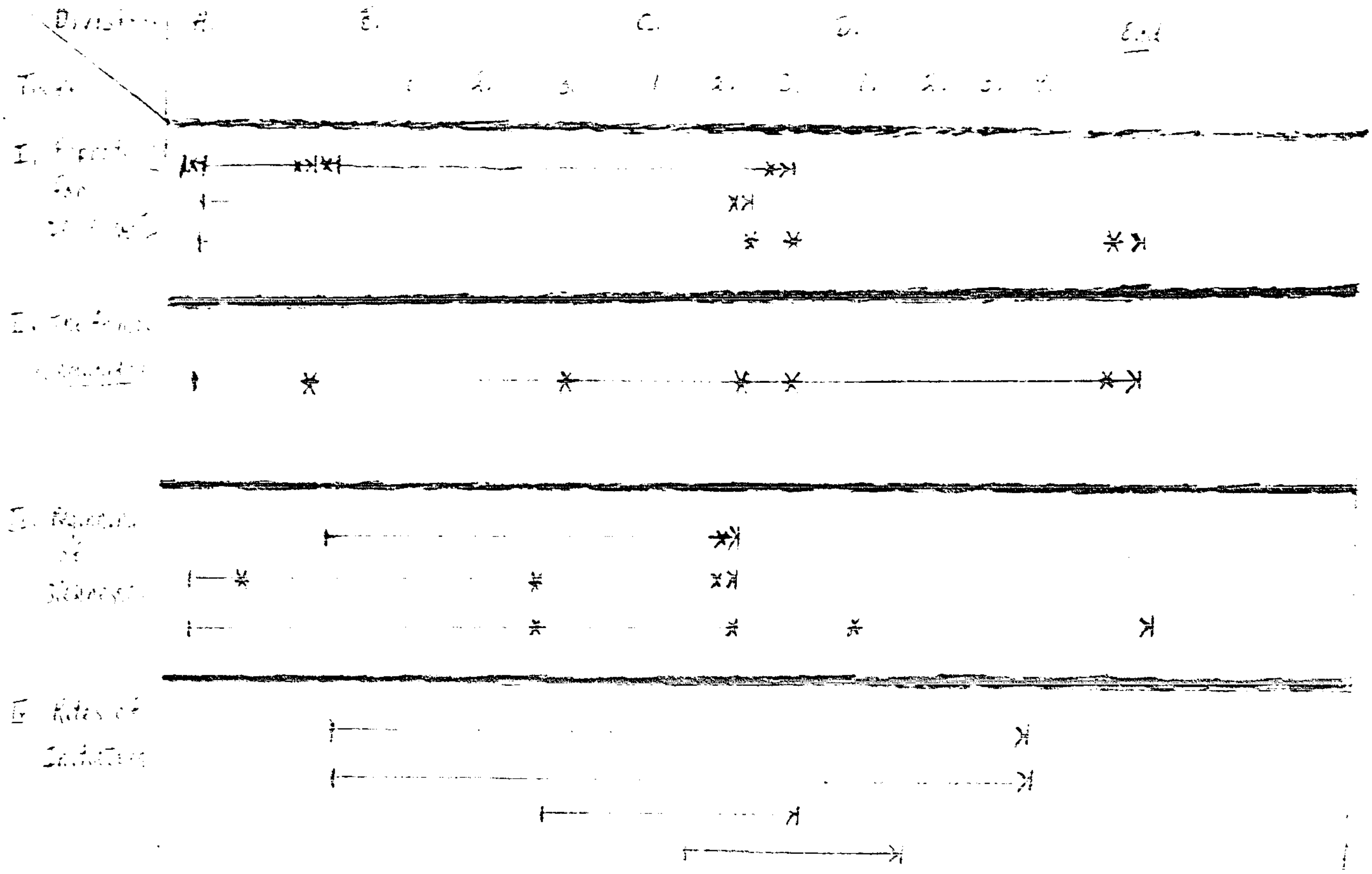
Topics and Episodes in the Myth of Kuai



correspond with the principal beginning-points, transitions and endings for each of the topics. I find the circular form consistent with an understanding that the myth can be a complete cycle, beginning with the creation of Kuai, and coming round full circle to creation over again of the sib-ancestors, the first "people." The following discussion will be based on the diagrams and their implications.

First of all, as I have summarized the story above, I heard it as an explanation of the beginning of a sickness; the poison-darts which shoot out of the flute-mouths, when Amaru takes them away, are, in fact, a sickness called walamas. They are thorns, treespines, on the paxiuba tree and they cause hot, itching pain. At the appropriate point in the narrative, the elder who was telling the story marked the critical moment of their appearance by saying "they began walamas." Thus when people today get sicknesses such as rheumatism, cricks in the neck, bone aches, and the like, it is said they suffer from walamas. In fact, several shamans cured me while I was in the field of my arthritis which they said was a bad case of walamas. It is Kuai, they say, who gives this sickness to people today.

I heard the story told in several other ways to explain the beginning of serious sickness, for instance, venom, from which people suffer today. In these instances, narrators would often begin the story-telling at what I mark B.1, omitting most of A, or summarizing it in a few words, such as "Kuai made all forest-fruits, then went to the sky, to live." The narration proceeded without a break until C.2, when in the great fire, venom and all other death-dealing sicknesses were left. As it is told this way, the story focusses on part of an overall plot about the beginning of sickness, and this part is detachable from the rest of the story. For the purposes of a narrator's explanation, the other parts of A and C.3 to the end are unnecessary.

This detachability can be thought of in terms of the several ways people may speak the same sentence in different kinds of situations. For instance, if a short sentence of subject and verb could be spoken which would convey an essential message, there would be no need of putting in a preface or an ending, for they are then superfluous. If, on the other hand, the object of the sentence were of real interest, one would be required to speak everything else before it, so that the object becomes a clear part of the story. One could only understand why walamas give people serious sickness if it were known that they came from the body of the sickness-owner, Kuai.

Looking at topic IV, on initiation, we see that narrators invariably omitted part A of the story; the reason being that initiations only begin in B, when Kuai first appears to the children. What is more striking about this topic is the different ways narrators could omit other parts of the story besides, beginning and ending at different points after B.1, or omitting chunks between parts (as indicated by the dashed line).

In one instance, my question to an elder was focussed specifically on the topic of initiation-songs. The elder sang several sets, then immediately led into a part of the story when initiation songs are sung by people, at the festival called "coming-out." The portion of the story which the narrator told, continued by explaining how the paxiuba tree "came out" of the earth, was broken off by the elder after the women take away the flutes. This narrator, in fact, did not know the rest of the story well, D.2-4, and so chose to conclude it in his own way. It was remarkable that so small a piece of the whole could form a separable unit, and yet constitute a coherent explanation of themes related to "Coming-out:" the songs which are sung at this festival and the paxiuba employed by the people in initiation festivals.

In another instance, I asked an elder a question on how people today do initiation rituals, a general question calling for an overall description of contemporary ritual practices. The elder, however, started with the myth as an explanation, at B.3 and narrated to C.3. It seems to me now that any general question about "how people do initiation fests" is likely to be answered in the same way, since there is very close correspondence between present-day initiation festivals and those described in the myth. In Section C.4 of this chapter, I explore this correspondence in detail; here, I will only note that the switch or jump from "now" to "long ago" can be made so easily because initiation rites are times when the world of long ago becomes alive. Initiates are shown the sacred flutes; and everything the elders tell them emphasizes that what they do with the flutes and to the initiates is "as it was made" in the beginning. This elder answered my general question on "how people do initiation rites" with a coherent short story, and as it turns out, dealing with two parts of initiation, the "Summons" and the "Coming-out," both of which have direct correspondence with initiation rituals performed today.

Variability in story-telling on the topic of initiation could be shown in still another way. Another narrator omitted a section from D.1-3 and picked up on D.4. This was, however, because I interrupted the flow of the narrative to ask questions about flute ornaments and the names of the flutes--"Why is one named a Toucan-bird, another a frog," and so on. The narrator answered with the final part of the story, which has to do with ornamenting the flutes with the fur, hair, or feathers of their namesakes. When they were completed, the flutes are then fully remade as "people" representing the body of the Animal but Person that was Kuai. The important point was that I then saw D.1-3 as a separate piece of the story, which could be omitted without necessarily losing a coherent explanation.

From this variability in story-telling to explain initiation, I concluded that as an overall topic initiation forms a continuous part of the entire narrative from B.1 to very nearly the end, D.4, but within that continuous part, narrators clearly perceived where breaks can be made, where they can pick up the story, or drop out pieces and still preserve a kind of unity in their explanation. Thus, with reason, we can come to regard the different points of marking in the story as phases of a plot about initiation, as follows: the beginning of Initiation at B.1; the Summons Festival at B.3; the Coming-Out Festival at C.2; and at D.4, the complete ornamenting of the flutes when initiation is at a complete end. And this would follow a sense that when people are completely initiated, they in turn may become the initiators of others and so the cycle would start again.

Narrators' omissions, then, are one justification for saying that the plots of the story develop through phases. Another way I came to realize this fact was that narrators could make various kinds of explanatory comments relating directly to their topics during the course of story-telling, as did the one who told the story of the Animal Wamũndana (comments marked as cross-marks on the linear diagram). The comments explained what was happening to the Animal: and as the story developed suggested that the Animal was changing its character. I will explain this in greater detail in Section C.2, but here summarize how I see these changes occuring. In the first point of comment the narrator made it clear that Wamūndana was three kinds of being packed into one: a person, an animal, and a spirit; the second, in the context of initiation, seemed to emphasize more of an animal character, while the person and spirit seemed less apparent until the end of the episode; the third shifted to emphasizing the person qualities while the animal was the object of the killing, burning in the fire. The fourth focussed on the body representation of the animal in the flutes. Then the narrative shifted to making people out of the flutes, people with ornaments of animal feathers, fur, and hair. In short, the storyteller noted the progressive development of the topic, marking at critical points what was happening to the distinctions between animals, people and spirits. This would give some justification for saying that people really consider that there is progressive differentiation among the three in the course of the story and this would have importance for how we might consider related developments, such as phases of the life-cycle.

Besides these comments and breaks or omissions, I saw that there were points of the story where narrators could use breaks to elaborate, through the insertion of other short stories, which related to the topic of explanation. In Section C.1 of this chapter, I will recount two instances when this occured. In the first, one elder and I were discussing childbirth and human growth. The elder, feeling that an appropriate answer to my questions could be given through myth, began with a short story, following which he related Part A of the Kuai story. Then, between A and B the elder inserted another short story relating how the earth came to grow to its present size. The topics clearly related birth and growth as two interconnected themes, and it was a piece of creative story-telling. The two short stories are not necessarily parts of the narrative of Kuai but could be tacked on, inserted at appropriate places to teach more on the general topic. It showed to me, besides, that A was a distinct kind of unit in the story of Kuai. (On the linear diagram, this instance is the top line of I.)

What I then came to see was that the places where narrators were marking by comments or omissions or breaks, corresponded to the four kinds of topics for which the story can be told. Thus it is noticeable in the diagrams where the x's fall or cluster, for instance around A-B; B.3-C; and especially C.2-C.3. The implication of this fact is very clearly this: these points are understood as each having meanings which can be read on multiple planes, several levels at once or separately given the topic of explanation. Narrators make it clear that these points are ending-points, which we might come to call "watershed moments," for they are critical separations, irreversible impasses at which the characters in the drama of the myth have arrived. Narrators frequently used "ending"-words to show this: "Pikétem!!" "the last, no more return"; or "Kamets' Hapeken!!!" "That's truly all!!!" Several times in the story "a long time passes" before the action begins again; but this is not always the case.

To show how several levels can be read in one moment, take the instance when Kuai is burned in the fire, which is by far the most dramatic event of the story. The conflagration which ends Kuai's life in the world is enormous, an Inferno as some say; and this is very much related to millenial themes as we shall see later on. At one level of the story (I, Reproducing for Descendants), this is the moment when the inhabitants of the spirit-world are definitively prevented from ever coming to mingle with the humans of this world, as they had been able to do before the fire. The separation is "the last," meaning it stays that way, or until an end of the world happens again. At another level (II), the narrator says that the animal is killed but it leaves venomous stuff from its hair and urine in the fire, which become spiders and biting animals in the world. As a story about sickness, however, I have found that there are two ways this moment can be understood: the first is that venom and other serious ailments "began" with it for people today; but the second is that it refers directly to the moment in shamans' cures when people "revive" from sickness. (See further discussion of this point in Section C.3.) As for initiation (IV), the moment is an end of restriction and seclusion, yet again it is a beginning of a sort, for the paxiuba tree "comes-out" of the earth and it is with this paxiuba tree that other initiations will be made. The moment, then, has profound meanings and many implications in Baniwa oral tradition. Every narrator who understands the story as meaning several things at once makes this a climactic moment in his telling of the myth. The fact that such critical moments are described as "endings" led me to ask whether we might understand them as marking off "episodes."

The fact that A can be omitted entirely suggests that it is considered a distinct unit, which may have certain internal features, similar to or different from other parts of the story. Clearly, it is a coherent piece of the story about a process of making children: the principal characters are father, mother, and child; the action revolves around conception, bearing, a critical point at birth, and it is followed by a post-birth sequence. The sequence ends with a word-divider ("the last"), a time divider ("a long time passes"), and a space-divider (Kuai is sent away to the sky to live and grow as a spirit). In the chart below, which is reproduced from Section C.1 of this chapter, I have summarized in Column II how I perceive that A develops in action, from beginning to end. I have found that several myths, or pieces of myths, develop according to a progression. The categories in the left-hand margin I offer as titles for the kinds of actions which characterize this progression. Such patterns of development in myths **are** found **in several other Baniwa** myths, as I describe in the notes below the chart.

Summary Chart	I. Menstruation	II. Birthing	III. The Earth
1. Initial Situation	(a) Yaperikuli comes to play with Amaru. (b) Amaru gets a red fruit to make Yaperikuli menstruate, Kewiken.	(a) Yaperikuli eats coca; thinks to Amaru for the child Kuai. (b) After five days, she is with child.	(a) Yaperikuli sits on the earth, a little rock, straddling it.
2. Procuring a Different Condition	(a) Amaru menstruates, "What is it?" Yaperikuli says, "How do you play?" (b) Yaperikuli gets a smaller red fruit.	(a) Amaru grows large in size. (b) Amaru has no vagina, no way for Kuai to leave. (c) Yaperikuli gets a patawa palmwood.	(a) Yaperikuli thinks how to make the earth big. (b) Yaperikuli gets a trumpet.

3. Transformative Moment	(a) Yaperikuli comes to Amaru and throws the fruit on her arse--"*Pazizi*!" (b) Yaperikuli says, "Oh, look below you." She sees great quantities of blood.	(a) Yaperikuli breaks open Amaru with the wood--"PA!!"--Amaru dies, the point of her vagina opens, Kuai comes out.	(a) Yaperikuli blows the trumpet--"HEE HEE HEE!" Each time Yaperikuli blows the note, the earth increases in size, as Yaperikuli sits on it. It becomes large.
4. A New Condition or Order is Made	(a) Amaru stays three days restricted from eating animals. (b) Amaru and Yaperikuli stay separate, both have menstruation.	(a) Kuai begins to sing; Yaperikuli sends him away to the other Amaru who nurtures Kuai. (b) Kuai then lives among forest-spirits.	(a) The Kuai-earth, *Kuaihipaite*, had begun. It is then divided, for each tribe of people to have a piece.
5. Further Description of Change or New Condition	(a) The Moon takes *Kewiken* for men; the Moon makes women menstruate.	(a) Already a little man, Kuai is sent to live in the sky and grows up there. (b) Yaperikuli revives Amaru.	(a) This earth is a place of pain, *Kaiwikoe*. Earth of Misfortunes. One place only is good, Yaperikuli's world.
6. Giving for Descendants	Men and women today menstruate. For women it is *Kanupakan*; men is *Kewiken*. Both occur at the turn of the New Moon.	(a) Women today bear children, for which they have large stomachs. (b) Womens' vaginas are opened at birth; thus the child comes out.	The earth is given for people today.

A brief word on my categories in the left-hand margin. I have found that myths which have a condition, situation given to Descendants often have similar patterns in development of plot. At least, this is true for the shorter pieces, those which I have summarized above and those in M.4.0, "Yaperikuli Gets the Earth, Container of Night, and Tobacco." The similarities in pattern were suggested by repetitions of phrases, themes, words at similar points in the narratives. My categories arose out of stated themes in the story which are repeated across myths in nearly the same places. For example, in number 2, "procuring a different condition" was frequently stated as a "how" kind of question--how would the earth grow big? how to give birth? and so on. And invariably the action following it was a resolution which moved toward a different condition. This condition as it is made, is then given for people today.

Turning to B.1-3, my original inclination was to break this part of the myth into three separate parts B.1-B.2-B.3 and call each a separate "episode," but it was a mistake and my understanding of the connectedness among the three parts came partly through a definition of "episode" proposed and succinctly stated by Terry Turner:

> Episodes ... are methodologically defined as distinct contextual units on the basis of the direct interdependence of the actions, events, etc., of which they consist. Such interdependence takes forms such as direct cause-effect or part-whole relations, or of one entity, quality, or event being a necessary condition or corollary of the other. Such criteria seem to correspond to the intuitive grounds on which listeners divide up stories into segments. (T. Turner, n.d., "Toward a Context-Sensitive Structural Analysis of Myth.")

I saw then that the three parts are connected as a sequence defined by, among other things, the following:

1) Internal linkages: B.1 and B.2 are connected by "ritual formulas"--Kuai returns in so many days, i.e., temporal

passage. B.2 and B.3 are connected by ritual formula --Kuai "returns to summon the children and the people should make manioc beer in the meantime," i.e., preparation for an event in B.3. Between the end of B.3 and C.1, there is a separation of time ("long time passing"); space (Kuai returns to the sky); and several narrators put in the divider "Pikétem" as the ending of an event.

2) Overall connections of the three parts by the passage of a defined sequence in time: three dry seasons must transpire, three dry seasons of restrictions beginning in B.1 and ending with the rains described in B.3.

I have since then come to diagram the entire unit defined in B.1-3 along with two others for the units C and D, following Leach (1969). More exactly, they were inspired by Leach but illustrate different kinds of patterns. Further discussion of these diagrams would involve a detailed understanding of the myth and we have not yet come to discuss what the myth means.

In the following Section C, I take each of the four topic areas so far only outlined and explore their meaning in detail. My discussion will begin by focussing on the kinds of explanation that there are in the myth: what does it mean to "explain" through the myth, and how do the Baniwa understand explanation as a meaningful communication of ideas? How is explanation a meaningful act, as a transmission of knowledge about the world and its order? Second, how are the portrayals and dramas of life-passage in the myth related to Baniwa experience of the same? What specific parallels can we make and develop between myth and kinds of experience? Through the demonstrations that I offer, I would hope to unveil and give depth to Baniwa culture and experience through a central myth.

C.1. Ancestors and Descendants

One of the reasons why Baniwa tell sacred stories is to make a bond of continuity between themselves and the people of the "ancient" times of myth who performed the deeds recounted in myth. Frequently, in stories, the bond is created by the people of myth when, after they have completed some act of monumental importance, they give it for all future times, and for everyone "after" them. All of their acts are related to life-experiences which everyone will come to know: birth, death, alternating of night with day, growth of gardens, and so on. The acts of creating each of these were completed in the ancient times and will be experienced by people of this world "until another end of the world" comes. When that will be is not given for anyone to know except the shamans.

People in myth express their giving of what they have done in the following words: "Thus will be for the Others" (Kadzu uatsu Walima-Nai) to which people who narrate the story say, "thus we give birth" or "thus we die in the world today." The "Others" to whom Walima-Nai refers are all those "who will be born" after the people of myth left this world and went to live forever in the sky. This separation occurred long ago and it left the Baniwa in a world where, it is said, they experience not only suffering, pain and sickness, but also abundance, creativity and the good order of things.

The separation which occurred was a strong separation, for the people of myth can never return to this world; and there is no expectation that they ever will. Baniwa affirm their links with these people, their ancestors, their creators, in part by telling the sacred stories. Besides this, the critical events of life passage bring people of this world in touch with the people of the past: at birth, at initiation, at death, and at sickness are times when the Walima-Nai relation becomes very real. Then, as in telling myths, there are mediators in the relations, shamans and elders being the most important specialists who have the powers to cross boundaries or to go-between two worlds.

The story of Kuai speaks directly to the separations between the world Before and the Others, as well as mediators, for in it a great many "things" were left, made or given, not the least of which were the sacred flutes. The birth of children, sickness, and the passage of souls at death are "given" in this myth and in no other. Elders narrate the story to "explain" how each of these began.

As it relates to the topic of "ancestors and descendants," "explanation" in the myth may be of several distinct kinds:

a. Explanation can be made in terms of contrasts with what-was-not-but-became-so through transformation. For instance, according to the myth, giving birth to children was impossible long ago, until a transformation was made. People who narrate the story are quick to point out that the result of the transformation is connected with what is seen today. Frequently, people make connections from explanation to experience by noting the shapes and forms that are seen today and which were made in ways explained by the myth. For instance, kinds of containers in which people are borne or grow.

b. Explanation may consist of dramatizing how a "not-of-this-world" being, Kuai, enters into relations with humans. At times of passage--birth, initiation and death--critical moments of transition are dramatized through symbols and images which "size up" (Burke, 1957: 3) the kinds of transitions being made. It is precisely at the points in the myth where drama occurs that we find it to correspond with peoples' experiences in rituals done today. (Let it be clear that the entire myth, I am saying, is a drama and in this lies much of the power of its explanation. The "critical moments" I refer to are climactic points where symbols and images come at a startling pace. We shall see that in the corresponding points of rituals, verbal explanations, such as speeches, most often are given to people.) Rituals are also contained in the Walima-Nai relation for people say of them, "thus we do, as it was made long ago." The correspondences between the myth's drama and the rituals are several. Among others we will come to discuss are the following:

(1) Presence of mediatory roles. In myth, the mediator between Kuai and humans in Yaperikuli. In ritual, the mediator between humans and spirits is often a shaman, an elder, or a grandfather.

(2) Similar kinds of concerns for which mediation is required; among the most prominent is the protection from sickness.

(3) Frequent equivalences among objects and tools described in myth as symbols of characters' status. In ritual, people

make these nearly the same as they were made in the myth.

(4) Important spatial locations, such as houses, doors, and plazas. In myth, the spatial movements of characters, their entrances and exits, typically are transitions or connote changes in relationships of characters. Such places are frequently of similar importance in ritual.

c. Explanation may consist in the actions of "unseen" sources. For instance, in the myth, several critical changes in people occur by invisible spirit-people who, by their actions, directly affect humans, causing sickness or causing internal and periodic changes, like menstruation. Such "unseen" sources still today affect people.

d. Explanation of change may be portrayed by analogy: human growth, for instance, and internal changes occurring with growth, may be described in terms of other realms where growth is a noticeable feature: forest-plants, the ripening of forest-fruits, and season changes are frequently used as analogies for human growth.

These four ways of "explaining" are among others which occur in the narrative. Throughout this section and this chapter, we will note how they occur and what it is that they explain, and how these are related to experience.

Narrators themselves frequently go beyond connecting explanation with experience in the ways listed above, and add qualitative dimensions to the things given for people: giving birth to children, for example, is expressed with the hopes for many; making gardens is expressed with the hopes of abundance: yet sicknesses and the causes of peoples' deaths are expressed with deep sorrow and the hopes for a different condition when such misfortunes will no longer be. Such expressions are difficult to convey on paper, but when appropriate in this section, we will at least note how people speak of them.

I shall move on now to discuss two instances when the narrative "explains" first, the beginning of sexual reproduction, birth, and growth; and second, the "end of the world" when Kuai left sicknesses before ascending to the sky. I will present sketches of the two narrative situations, following which I will discuss the "explanations" in terms of two levels of analysis. These are: first, the rhetorical uses of language as being in itself a way of explanation; and second, the myth's relationship to the content of cosmology, giving cosmology dynamic shape and form.

In the first instance, I was once discussing with an elder, named Malewa, of Hipana village, the topic of incest in mythology. I was then trying to determine if the "Daughter of the Sun" myth that the Desana tell (Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1977) had an equivalent in Baniwa myth. Malewa looked at me with a clouded expression, perturbed by my even raising the question of incest--"People may do this on the Vaupés," he said, "but not here." A moment later he brightened and asked, "Do you know the story of how, what you say, intercourse began?" Malewa proceeded to tell first a story of how Yaperikuli made his aunt Amaru menstruate. At the end of this short piece, Amaru tells Yaperikuli --"Thus will be from now until our Others have it"; thus menstruation is given for men and women in the world (see Story Summary below). Without further thought, Malewa proceeded with a narrative of the Kuai myth beginning with the event of conception and birth. Malewa remarked after Kuai's birth, "Kuai was born right here," and pointed to the falls of Hipana not more than a hundred feet from where we sat. Malewa remarked after Kuai is sent to live in the sky, "thus will be for our Others" meaning, it seems, the experience of birth is connected directly with people today. Malewa then followed with a short piece on how the earth was a small rock at the time of Kuai's birth and was made to grow to its present large size. The earth grew when Yaperikuli took a trumpet and blew a deep, resounding note "HEEEEE HEEEEE" from it. (The sound "HEE HEE" is sung in a single-noted bass voice, and is the music of a trumpet, but it is also the noise a great Jaguar makes. It is also the noise Kuai makes frequently in the myth. Whenever the Jaguar-song occurs in myth or shaman-song, it indicates a transformation--Ipadámawa--is being made.) As the note sounded, the earth "opened, opened, opened up, like a balloon" and Malewa showed how by forming with two hands an open circle which grew wider with each time the note sounded. As proof, perhaps, Malewa pointed to the great rock in the middle of the rapids and said that that was the earth "in the beginning," "the first world." Then, a long time passed before Kuai returned to initiate the children.

On the following page, I summarize the first three parts of this narrative, those that deal with menstruation (I), Kuai's birth (II) and the growth of the earth (III). It should be noted here that I and III are not invariable parts in the relating of the Kuai myth; rather Malewa told them to elaborate on the explanation. The two pieces are detachable and can be added to others.

Summary Chart	I. Menstruation	II. Birthing	III. The Earth
1. Initial Situation	(a) Yaperikuli comes to play with Amaru. (b) Amaru gets a red fruit to make Yaperikuli menstruate, Kewiken.	(a) Yaperikuli eats coca; thinks to Amaru for the child Kuai. (b) After five days, she is with child.	(a) Yaperikuli sits on the earth, a little rock, straddling it.
2. Procuring a Different Condition	(a) Amaru menstruates, "What is it?" Yaperikuli says, "How do you play?" (b) Yaperikuli gets a smaller red fruit.	(a) Amaru grows large in size. (b) Amaru has no vagina, no way for Kuai to leave. (c) Yaperikuli gets a patawa palmwood.	(a) Yaperikuli thinks how to make the earth big. (b) Yaperikuli gets a trumpet.
3. Transformative Moment	(a) Yaperikuli comes to Amaru and throws the fruit on her arse--"Pazizi!" (b) Yaperikuli says, "Oh, look below you." She sees great quantities of blood.	(a) Yaperikuli breaks open Amaru with the wood--"PA!!"-- Amaru dies, the point of her vagina opens, Kuai comes out.	(a) Yaperikuli blows the trumpet--"HEE HEE HEE!" Each time Yaperikuli blows the note, the earth increases in size, as Yaperikuli sits on it. It becomes large.
4. A New Condition or Order is Made	(a) Amaru stays three days restricted from eating animals. (b) Amaru and Yaperikuli stay separate, both have menstruation.	(a) Kuai begins to sing; Yaperikuli sends him away to the other Amaru who nurtures Kuai. (b) Kuai then lives among forest-spirits.	(a) The Kuai-earth, Kuai-hipaite, had begun. It is then divided, for each tribe of people to have a piece.

5. Further Description of Change or New Condition	(a) The Moon takes Kewiken for men; the Moon makes women menstruate.	(a) Already a little man, Kuai is sent to live in the sky and grows up there. (b) Yaperikuli revives Amaru.	(a) This earth is a place of pain, Kaiwikoe, Earth of Misfortunes. One place only is good, Yaperikuli's world.
6. Giving for Descendants	Men and women today menstruate. For women it is Kanupakan; men is Kewiken. Both occur at the turn of the New Moon.	(a) Women today bear children, for which they have large stomachs. (b) Womens' vaginas are opened at birth; thus the child comes out.	The earth is given for people today.

In the first place, the important point to make is that menstruation for men and women today is believed to be the creative source of children. Without this, people say they would not conceive children. From this creative source, peoples' desires to have large families, with many children

(continued following page)

(eight or ten seems to be ideal and frequently seen) are realized.

As the myth explains, it is through a playful exchange of forest-fruits, both of them red and evocative of menstrual blood, that the condition begins. Womens' menstruation is given greater attention through the transformative act, than kewiken which is never really explained. The first point of Yaperikuli's act, it is said, was "to make Amaru's insides not close off" (likátorama); a comparison was made between this condition and a cross-pattern effect of woven strips on a basket. The cross-patterns have open spaces between them and are not tightly bound together. The second point of Yaperikuli's transformative act was "to make it not stay hard inside of her" (romáwa da îaikún), and the contrast was made with a hard-shelled container. (While it was never stated explicitly, the "inside" could refer to the liver as a source of menstrual blood, but it was more generally just "inside.") With this concern for an internal change in women, the transformative act is given as purely external. I have not found an equivalent sound in other myths which might illuminate the one given in this myth; nevertheless, the sound-effect is one of a forceful splattering of bunches of small fruits. Furthermore, red fruits in Baniwa are generally given transformative powers more so than any other kinds.

The resulting condition is then ordered by restrictions in food intake and separation between men and women. In practice, today, womens' menstrual blood is said to be dangerous really only to shamans, causing a "sickness of their blood." Men other than shamans, however, frequently used the expression for womens' menstruation Maatchikan, "bad," connoting something like polluting. However, whatever danger or threat to men that comes from menstrual blood does not cause a great deal of tension. Instead, joking kinds of relations more often characterizes the separation of men and women. (For instance, when this myth was told by one narrator, named Keroami, he explicitly made a tṹpiken, joke, about the great quantities of Amaru's menstrual blood, and people who heard Keroami's version could not help but break out in fits of laughter.)

As the condition is given to men and women today, it is the Moon which is said to cause menstruation, but one "doesn't know how it comes and enters" (ñ̂ewa îieta mañ̂étsanoe). It makes periodic liaisons with men and women, descending on a stairway from the sky, and leaving them with the conditions in their sleep. The theme of entry inside, as an internal change, once again appears as the result of an external but this time somewhat hidden action. More exactly, the sources of menstruation that people experience today are given as "behind-the scenes" kinds of actions which happen at known times, but the internalizing of the change remains hidden.

The second piece, the birthing of Kuai, continues these themes and the story again can be tied with experience. When I asked people their beliefs on the conception of children, they either made (a) direct reference to Yaperikuli; or (b) credited the father's role in giving his "blood" (lirana, or likai, sperm) to form the blood of the child. Everything else--bones, organs--is done by "Our father, Yaperikuli" who makes the child's soul and gives to the mother the stuff from which the foetus is formed. Again, it seems, there is action "behind-the-scenes." The mother is considered a receptacle for the father's blood, a "container," and the father may continue to give blood long after both know a child is conceived.

The image of "container" is developed both in the myth and in peoples' conceptions of pregnancy: the child "sits" in the mother's belly, "eating, drinking beer, and growing large." Size and growth in pregnancy are emphasized; yet in peoples' experiences, large growth does create painful conditions, for which there are spells to recite to ameliorate pain. At birth, the myth continues the theme of "container," for Yaperikuli's transformative act is given by the exclamatory sound--PA!!--which is equivalent in other myths to breaking open, or bursting asunder containers from which characters "come out." What people today consider important about Yaperikuli's transformative act is the change in external shape, the altering of forms when birth-ing occurs. The effect of "breaking into" Amaru was to make an open way for the child to leave. One narrator showed this by forming with two hands a V-shape which becomes an open ellipse at birth. This is the shape given to people today.

What follows in the myth takes the explanation of the experience of after-birth to a level of extra-ordinariness. In the time it takes a narrator to say approximately twenty lines of the myth, what happens is (a) the mother is dispossessed of the child by the father, (b) the child sings, (c) the child is sent to be nourished in the forest by a kind of substitute mother, (d) already grown, the child is sent away to the sky to live near the father's place.

The child is something "not-of-this-world," although it was born into this world through its human mother, Amaru. Instantly, whatever qualities of humanity the child may have had by its birth become modified. It is partly a forest-being and partly a spirit, the "soul of its father." The songs it produces from its body are those of forest-animals, and in most, if not all, versions of the story, it gets "sickness-stuff" while living in the forest.

It was my suggestion that the "not-of-this-world" explanation may correspond to rituals which people do. The following sketch summarizes birth and post-birth practices as they are done today:

> If a woman gives birth in the woods, her husband or husband's father blows spells with tobacco, sending away all forest-spirits who might gaze upon the baby, and in simply gazing, give it sickness. Also, anacondas of the river, their gazes are turned away. Tobacco smoke is like a screen to protect against the gazes of the spirits.
>
> The father, mother, and child then return home and an elder, grandfather of the child, blows protective spells on hammocks and on the earth floor inside the house. The natal family is restricted in diet and secluded at home for a week. Father and mother cannot work at all. Mother stays "sitting with child." If the father goes walking in the woods, or canoeing on the river, protective spells must be done against sickness-giving spirits.
>
> At the end of the week, the grandfather again blows spells on river water, pepper and on tree resin. These are thrown into the river before the new family bathes, to "Pick the eyes of the anacondas and shut their gazes." The family safely bathes and later the old one chants lengthy spells, called kalīdzamai, which then ends the diet restrictions and seclusion.

From this sketch, we might find correspondences to occur as follows:

(1) The role of Yaperikuli as mediator--with--the elder as grandfather as protector of the natal family by "sending away" all the sickness-spirits.

(2) The child is nourished in the forest by a substitute

mother--with--the natal family staying in the house of seclusion, "siting with the child." One might suspect from this that human children are not-yet people, that is, on the side of nature, like forest-beings.

(3) Kuai is sent to live near the father's place--as-- the newborn child and natal family live near, but separate from, the father's house, in the village.

The human experience of post-birth passage would be "explained" in the myth as one when the separations which usually exist among the realms of Humans, Animals and Spirits become mixed. Humans become vulnerable to sickness and attack from spirits in such cases, and it is only when post-birth passage has reached an end that the realms become separated.

If vulnerability to sickness is one stated concern that the Baniwa have, growth is another. Kuai in myth is one whose "body grows in an instant," very much like a forest-tree or plant. Several Baniwa whom I asked compared a baby's growth to that of plants. Mother's milk, they say, is what makes the child grow, as large trees "give their milk to young saplings." This would follow the sense of myth as explanation by analogy.[2]

Growth and Sickness are two concerns which are repeated in the following piece on the growth of the earth. The growth of the earth is described as a transformation by expanding--"making open"--and like menstruation, it is a hard shell made "not hard" and able to grow.[3] People can then relate this growth of the earth to how "they live and grow on it today." In making a village or a plot for a garden, for instance, one "opens" the jungle up, cutting away screens like vines and brush, in an active sense of clearing open. "Opening" can also mean to expand a village --opening up on either side a line of houses as far as possible on the high level ground on which villages are made.

The statement that this earth is "The Place of Pain" can be understood partly in relation to what it is being contrasted with, Yaperikuli's world, where there is no pain. It ought to be emphasized that not all Baniwa share this view of the earth; for a different reading, see the variant M.4.0 where the narrator stresses the abundance of plants which the earth produces. To this narrator, it was not the "place of pain" but "the good earth." It is this dual strand in Baniwa descriptions of their experiences in this world which it is essential to recognize. Abundance can mean many good things: forest-fruits, game, fish, large families. Yet thoughts of abundance vary. The Baniwa tell in real life just as much about famine, suffering; bemoan their material poverty and lack of fine things.[4]

The senses of "the place of pain" can be very acute when Baniwa turn their thoughts towards the many sicknesses which there are in the world of late, and which leave people with much sadness, misery and suffering. To show how this theme continues in the narrative of Kuai, I turn now to another set of beliefs related to how sicknesses and death began for people today.

As background to our discussion, mention should be made of the Myth of Maweríkuli (M.2.2), the first person to die (see Part V for text). This myth is told to explain how death began for people. Maweríkuli dies as a consequence of foolish mistakes, but Yaperikuli could have revived Maweríkuli after three days of lying in a tomb. An "other" woman, however, entered Maweríkuli's grave and painted Maweríkuli for a festival when Maweríkuli would come-out of the grave. On the final stroke of her hand, she turns it upwards, and Mawerikuli fell to the ground nothing but bones. Thus Mawerikuli began death for people; and narrators sometimes compare this story with God's banishment of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Paradise.

This story explains primarily the institutional contexts of death; many of the beliefs and practices described in myth are seen in what people do today. Beyond this, on the occasions of deaths today, it is said that the soul of the dying person makes a journey to the heavens where it will live forever in houses near Yaperikuli. The existence there is one of abundance, of plentiful food and game, absence of suffering and absence of sickness and venom which kills. Heaven is contrasted with this earth, which is "dirty" and full of venom and people who give venom. To attain heaven, the soul must "throw off its person" (lipekoka nawikika) and be transformed by passing through a "hole" of flaming tree resin which washes it clean. Then the soul is dressed in "beautiful clothes," white garments, before it proceeds onwards to Yaperikuli. (In Part I.E.1.b of this thesis, I describe such a passage at the death of an elder.)

The myth of Mawerikuli really does not deal with passages of the soul at death. It raises a question of revival, but Mawerikuli, like all other people in the world afterwards, dies. Passages at death, instead, are described as a separation between the body of the deceased and its soul, a separation between two worlds, this earth where the body is interred, and the other world where the soul lives a forever-existence in a kind of Paradise. The separation between humans and the world of the spirits "began," it is said, with Kuai's death. From then on, all people make the same kind of passage described at this point of the myth.

Below, I transcribe one segment of an interview when the question I posed to a Hipana villager, Felipe, led his step-father, elder-Keroami, to narrate the myth. The question was simply: "What does Walima-Nai mean?"

Felipe:

"Walima-nai, esse é para outro, como diz, outro que nascerá, no?
("Walima-nai, this is for the other, how to say, the other that will be born, no?)

Para outro nascerá. Antigamente, vovó, nosso vovó na, cuidava bem.
(For the other to be born. Long ago, the ancestor, our ancestor, took care well.)

'Bueno, você ficará mia filha, outra vida assím, depois de mim.'
('Well, you will stay my child, the other life thus, after me.')

Ele falava assim. Por isso..."
(He spoke thus. For that...")

Keroami:

"Likenyua, ima lioma Kuai...
(It begins, for he looks for Kuai...)

Yaperikuli...Irikan,
(Yaperikuli's...Son,)

Hipatuperi.
(Of coca.)

Inha li-hipatu,
(He eats his coca,)

Kenipete Kuai-apen Yaperikuli
(To be with the child Kuai, Yaperikuli)

Likoiro-ishio
(For his aunt)

Kenipena..."
(With child...")

Keroami proceeds with the story until much much later when Yaperikuli pushes Kuai into the fire to burn. Then Kuai speaks to Yaperikuli from inside the fire:

"Yaperikuli pushed--
PA! Khhhihh!
Kuai fell in the fire.
An Inferno it made.
They threw trees--tititititi
They threw quartz pendants.
Then it burned the fire-tititititi
But it was HHHUUGE
Not little.
He made an Inferno.

'Heyy, you cannot kill me,' says Kuai.
You cannot kill me,
You cannot.
The fire is my body, this fire is Kuai's body.
His body is wood, Kuai's body is wood.
It does not die.
His body is stone. It does not die.
His body is the quartz pendant. It does not die.
Everything. Iron is his body, it does not die, they can't kill it.
The gun is his body, it does not die.
Clubs, they strike with, it does not die.
Hiwiathi (Sickness) 'my speech, it does not die,' he says. 'My sickness-giving it will be.'
Venom, my body, venom.
Ûero (poison plant) 'my liver' his liver is *Ûero*, it does not die.'

Then Yaperikuli joins together people around the Great Fire.
They heard how he spoke there, Kuai.
They heard of *Hiwiathi*, of *Mǔtíkaim* (Sickness) eeeevvverything...
All of them, how *all* the Maaku, *all* the white people die of venom...
'You come after me, I go *before you*' he says.
He ascended from the Great Fire, *in the fire* he ascends...
(Singing) 'HeeHeeHee--eeyteyteytete...'
Until *today*!
Only the shamans see him, they see the body of Kuai
Until...*there* he is (points to the sky) *not dead*! *there* he is there
Thus it is.
That's about all I know about Kuai."

Keroami stressed the Walima-Nai relation of Before and After here more than elsewhere. The following are other ways of life, which are given: (1) Yaperikuli makes birthing of children possible; (2) Kuai makes all forest-fruits and gives them for ritual food; (3) Yaperikuli makes all ritual ornaments for the initiation of children; (4) Kuai gives all songs and melodies. We will discuss each of these in other sections of this chapter.

The overall and dominant themes of the speech from the fire are: (1) Kuai is immortal; (2) people after Kuai are mortal; (3) people are left with sicknesses and are taught about them; and (4) Kuai's spirit separates definitively from living in this world.

The first theme, in the refrain "it does not die" lists what can be called indestructible things in this world. It is impossible to separate these from the second theme, the fact they can be injurious to people. When Baniwa speak of their misfortunes in this world, and the world as the place of pain, it is to these things they refer. Yet if peoples' deaths are made by them, peoples' souls "follow after" Kuai, which is to say they become immortal by dying and passing to what in all respects is a "better" life for its freedom from suffering.

The third theme is similarly double-edged in its thought. Sicknesses are left yet people come to "know" about them. Kuai's teaching is known collectively as Kuai-ianheke, Kuai-knowledge, and it is this "knowing" which is reproduced and transmitted for all people today. This includes spells, sorcery-spells, remedies, everything about sickness. The fire in which Kuai teaches is an appropriate location, for it is one of the things which is said to be indestructible.

The separation which occurred is irreversible; it is an "ending" of the possibility that the worlds of the spirits can ever come directly again to this earth and mingle with humans. It is the separation of the spirits into a world of Before, a world which always remains, is "still there" but forever separate from humans. In a larger sense, everyone of the characters of myth--Yaperikuli, Dzuliûere and the others--also stay, "alive" immortal in the world of Before, and it is as though the two worlds will always exist side by side. More nearly the truth, one above the other, Before and Other. This separation of the two occurred at this point and in no other place in Baniwa sacred history.

Baniwa say that an end will come again but in some unspecified time. When it happens, a celestial ascension will again occur and the people of the world below this earth will "be born," that is, the "new-ones," the "others" will arise. It is thus an "end" in only one sense, for it is followed by the beginning of new life.

The shamans are the only ones capable of mediating directly between this world and the Before-world and are the only ones capable of knowing "whether this world will come to an end," if someone says it will. In Section C.3, I will discuss the shamans' powers of mediation in greater detail, but it is through a similar kind of passage that is dramatized in this point of the myth that the shamans are able to journey to the Before-world. After taking snuff, shamans "die" and their souls "leave their bodies" to ascend to the heavens. There, they procure the Owner of Sickness, Kuai, who will give to the shamans the necessary remedies with which the shamans can return to this world to perform cures. Shamans perform cures in the Before-world and, if they are successful, return here and "do the same for the Others, Walima-Nai." Mediation thus works by reproducing the passage from one world to the other, following the kind of separation of body from soul, earth from sky, as it was made in the myth.

The world-ending image of a conflagration and ascent to the heavens parallels what we have described in Chapter II, of the 1858 Baniwa millenial movement. Venancio Cristo's prediction of a world-conflagration in which Baniwa would be "saved" by "dancing in circles," singing, whereupon they would ascend to the heavens, was a prophetic end of this world and ascent to a better life much as it is described in this point of the myth. My point is that the Inferno which Keroami described is a theme around which millenial hopes can focus in historical dramas. When the sense of misfortune and suffering in this world develop into overwhelming situations--as they were in the 1850's and as they were in the 1950's, when evangelism gave fuel to a similar kind of "end-of-the-world" ascension drama--Baniwa know that there are possibilities of relief from their plight. It is then that they turn to "saviors" who have proclaimed powers of knowing how the passage to the heavens will work.

At the risk of compiling examples, I wish to point out several other important Baniwa myths which have the imagery of fire, conflagrations, or Great Fires. I shall consider these briefly, as they may illuminate the present discussion.

(1) (In Part V, M.3.0) Yaperikuli causes a great fire to burn the world, to rid it of demons and dangerous animals which, in the ancient times, "before people," walked about the earth. Following the conflagration,

Yaperikuli washed the world, then procured the first ancestors of people from the rapids of Hipana. This myth clearly follows the Kuai myth for the Kuai-flutes, the ancestors of the patri-clans, emerged with each clan. Yaperikuli appears very much as a transformer, ridding the world of "other" dangerous beings so that people could emerge.

(2) (In Part V, M.1.0) A huge garden-fire, also described by the narrator as an "Inferno," is caused for the purpose of killing Yaperikuli. However, Yaperikuli escapes by crawling inside an ambaúba tree in the middle of the garden, and closing off the tree. The heat of the fire bursts the tree apart (given by the narrator in the explosive sound, "PA!!"), but Yaperikuli "comes-out" as a grown elder, and alive. Like the Inferno image from which Kuai's spirit ascends to live immortally, Yaperikuli emerges and says, "never can we be killed."

(3) (In Part V, M.5.0) The originator of manioc and all garden-plants, Kaali, instructs his son that he would start a great garden-fire, which would help his family to begin a plantation. Kaali then instructs his son to push him into the fire to burn (there is no sound mimic of the pushing-in). From the burning-place, the first manioc-tree and all garden plants emerged. Kaali's body, narrators stated, stayed in the earth to become manioc, and manioc bread is "Kaali's body." Kaali's "knowing" for the making of gardens, "parted" to everyone on the earth.

(4) A myth not quoted in this thesis explains that cooking fire and all fire is "owned" by Yaperikuli who gave it to all mankind. Fire is "Yaperikuli's tongue" (ienene),

the "flames" (ira) of Yaperikuli. In the Kuai myth and in M.3.0, Yaperikuli is identified with the Sun, the primal sun, the giver of life.

I will now try to suggest ways in which the first three instances use common imagery, but in distinctive ways, to "explain" the important themes of death, rebirth or birth. Following this, I return to consider how the Kuai myth "explains" the Ancestor/Descendant relation by this imagery.

First, in M.3.0, a destructive terrestrial fire ("to kill others") is the necessary foreground for birth of the first people, the sib ancestors. Birth is conveyed by the imagery of "coming-out" (narrators describe this as a circling motion from down to up), up from the holes which connect the earth at Hipana (the center of the Universe in Baniwa cosmology) with "the World-Below" (Wapina-Koa).

Second, in M.1.0, a destructive garden-fire ("to kill" Yaperikuli, the first human) is set around the garden, while in the middle, Yaperikuli becomes enclosed within a container (like a pre-birth state). The bursting apart of the container is the same explosive sound which "opens" Amaru in the birth of Kuai. If the garden-fire is denied as a vehicle to kill, nevertheless, it acts as a catalyst for the "coming-out" of Yaperikuli as a full-grown elder.

Third, in M.5.0, the garden-fire is not necessarily destructive. This aspect is downplayed by all the narrators for the more important end-result: manioc and plantations "were born" from the burning-place. The garden-fire is like Kuai's fire because: (a) it separates Kaali's body which stayed in the earth, from Kaali's Knowing which "parted" to everyone; and, (b) the first manioc-tree (Kaali-kathadapa) was a great tree which connected earth with sky.

From what we have so far discussed of the Kuai myth, the theme of "not-dead" (i.e., immortality) but separation (in Baniwa, liawapaita) from the living into an eternal Other life (or rebirth) is explicitly stated. Like the separation which occurs in M.5.0, Kuai's "knowing" stays, is transmitted to all descendants. Kuai's body stays with the earth, while Kuai's spirit ascends from the earth-fire. Like the separation which occurs also at the deaths of all old people today--as described in Part I.E.1(b)--the deceased body is interred, while the soul ascends to live another life with ancestors in the houses of the deceased, near Kuai in the cosmos.

What is still puzzling about the Kuai myth is the nature of the body which stays on the earth. First of all, how is it that all indestructible elements are Kuai's body, and how is it that the flames of fire cause the separation of this body from spirit? Is this "indestructible body" of Kuai's similar to, or different from, the bodies of the clan ancestors described in M.3.0? Their bodies were the bodies of the animals, and they emerged from the holes at Hipana singing animal-melodies. One further fact is puzzling. In the beginning of this section, when discussing post-birth sequence in the myth and in ritual, I made note that there seem to be three aspects of Kuai which emerge: human (born from mother), a forest-being (nourished by an animal) and a spirit. At Kuai's death, similarly at least two aspects emerge: the Human (humans die like Kuai) and the Spirit; and in the myth of clan ancestors, the Animal aspect returns.

The question which thus arises is, what is the nature of Kuai's being? How specifically is the animal-body nature related to the spiritual and to the human? These questions motivate a further and more detailed consideration of the story as an explanation of what Baniwa call the "bicho" or Animal Wamũndana.

C.2. The Animal Wamũndana

The story of Kuai can be told to elaborate another set of beliefs with regard to what Baniwa call "The Animal" (Ītchiri), Wamũndana whom Yaperikuli "left for us to teach Malinaliene," the children of the myth. Wamũndana, they say, was a person who had the body of an animal. In the ancient times described by myth, the animals were people; they had bodies different from humans, but could walk with humans, hold festivals with them, and humans could even marry into their tribes. Through transformations that occurred long ago, the animals were made to stay with the bodies that people see today, but they live separate existences as "people" without usually the ability to communicate with humans. Wamũndana was such an animal but a person, and what complicates things a bit more, Wamũndana was many kinds of animals together as one being. Wamũndana lived in the sky as a spirit, but when it descended to the earth and walked with humans, its spiritual existence assumed the bodily shape of the collective animal but person.

To unpack this a bit more, I discuss first some of the important features of the animal; second, the relations between humans today and the animals; third, how the story of Wamũndana explains ongoing relationships which humans have with the Animal and Spirit worlds. My interpretation of the myth itself as an explanation of "The Animal" will focus on three ways I think are important about "The Animal." They are as follows:

(1) The Animal defines for humans various temporal orders in the cosmos, especially the passage of seasons and the periodicity of day and night;

(2) The Animal defines for humans socio-economic orders, the more obvious being fruit-gathering, processing manioc, and the social relations which define these. These are tied directly with ritual life and the social relations defined in ritual, specifically festivals of exchange, when the principle of reciprocity is dominant;

(3) The Animal embodies concepts of reproduction and generativity, especially in the notion of shadow relations among animals, spirits and humans.

Each of these ways of understanding the theme or topic is expressed by particular rhetorical devices used in the myth. Certain phrases, cues, images, or verbal expressions indicate that one or more of these ways of understanding the topic is being emphasized.

When Baniwa discuss this animal Wamũndana, it is often in a descriptive sense to name the parts of its body, and this they can do in comprehensive detail. Wamũndana, they say, has "three fingers on its right hand and has a great deal of hair that covers all parts of its body." The lists of named parts start with the right hand and show a grouping of three joined fingers called Waliadoa (Young Sister), then two joined fingers called Maliawa (from White Heron), then two joined fingers called Hăiũ (White Monkey). These names and the others to follow correspond to sacred flutes which people play today, and the names are the names of "people" created by Yaperikuli from the many pieces of paxiuba that arose out of Kuai's burning-place. Before

Wamūndana burned in the fire, all the parts together formed the single animal, collectively, together as one.

The lists of named parts go on and vary in length. The parts correspond to the appendages, long bones, abdomen, feet, head, etc. of Wamūndana. The names are the birds of the forest (Toucan, partridge, woodpecker), fish of the rivers, "animals of the forest" (pig, Jacú bird, deer, rodents), and some "animals of the trees." Some are parts of animals, as: Jaguar Bone. Some are both human and animal: Jacú bird is sometimes called "Woman's Arm." All of these animals, with the exception of the three mentioned as the right hand, have fur, coats of hair, scales, or feathers (Īdzu can refer to all of these). The animal Wamūndana corresponds, then, to many but not all of the animals of the forest, river, and air.

All these animals have distinctive songs, Kaako. In reality, humans can imitate animal-song in a fashion which corresponds closely to the actual sounds; but the music which comes out of the flutes or that people sing in imitation, is the melodies that these animals made when they were people and their speech was the many different kinds of harmonious sounds that they made. This was left for humans today; it is these melodies that they sing and play at festivals of fruit-exchange. These songs bring to peoples' hearts "happiness" and "contentment."

The name Wamūndana has a very close similarity to the name of a large black sloth called Wamu (Bradypus spec.). The root -ndana is related to the word for shadow, idánam. It is said that the wamu which people see in the trees today are "the shadow of Kuai." To explore this potential line further, I give first some of the features people attribute to Wamu, then discuss shadow relations between humans and animals. The shadow relation bears directly on the discussion of Walima-nai, the worlds of myth and people.

Wamu has three appendages on its paws, is covered with fur, and is the "grandfather" of the animals of the ground and of the trees. In spells which people today say to call animals for the hunt, they invoke wamu to come and eat sweet fruits they leave for it, whereupon wamu calls the other animals to come. In the story of the "beginning of night," wamu heralds the return of the day after the first long night, singing when the dawn appears. Wamu-song is associated with changes of seasons also, for between the dry and the wet, it sings in a high-pitched hum from treetops then comes to the ground. Its black fur, shamans say, is full of venom and causes intense stomach pain, headaches and vomiting. It is this hair which shamans extract from people sick with venom. Finally, a practice worth noting is that wamu-hair is burned in quantity when people make roasted pepper; this is done as a "remedy for pepper."

The animal, in short, has many ambivalent qualities: both good and evil, both venomous yet a remedy. It lives both on treetops, yet comes to the ground at the change of seasons. Such animals are important in native thought, as Mary Douglas has shown for animals like the pangolin, for their abilities to cross boundaries which separate worlds; at the same time they can pose dangers to people. That is, in the animal world, wamu is a mediator, and this is important for our discussions of kinds of mediators that the Baniwa know. Wamũndana, then, would have affinities to the wamu, the sloth of the trees, and one would expect that there would be some kind of carry-over in ambivalent meanings between the two.[5]

Turning now to "shadows," Baniwa call attention to the fact that today animals, fish, and birds live separate existences with ways of life like real "people"--they have cooking fires, houses, and do many of the same things. Animals have souls housed in a hill and presided over by a chief, next to the house of souls of deceased people. Humans usually do not see the animals as "people"; rather, they see the bodies that they have. The relation between the "people" aspect of animals, fish, and birds is described as one of "shadows" (idánam). As, for instance, a hand casts its equivalent figure in a black shadow on a wall, there are two forms, body and black shadow, separated by a barrier of some space. Both are active; what one does, the other follows. However, for the fish-people and animal-people, their bodies are their shadows which humans see. The human body/shadow equation is reversed.

For most Baniwa, the animal-people remain unseen as "people"; however, there are frequent exchanges and encounters between humans and the "other-people." There does not seem to be any criterion for who may experience encounters, nor is there any particularly great desire to seek them out. Encounters and interchanges happen and are remembered with accuracy and detail; they can be both gratifying and frightening.

To give an instance of an exchange which occurs periodically between humans and these "people," every year the Fish-people ascend the rivers in March and April to "make their festivals" (what we might call spawning). Multitudes of them swim upriver, and to someone watching them, their movements appear "crazy," intoxicated with the beer they drink. At these times, humans sit and watch their traps, or cast their lines. The Fish-people meanwhile watch the humans and when a hook comes, it is said, they put pieces of their firewood on the hooks. As the human hauls it in, the firewood transforms into a fish for people (*Kupe ipadama neviki-ishiun*). In other words, to get from Fish-people to human, through a barrier which separates them, a transformation is made. The wood, being a part of the Fish-peoples' other existence, transforms into the body of a fish, the shadow of what it formerly was.

As this relates to myth, a story is told how the people of the Uaraná stream off the upper Aiary River long ago made a festival. On their return home, they came to the house of a spirit. Having hunger, they ate the spirit's fish, then began dancing with ambaúba-dance-tubes straight down a path to the river. They went under water and there they stayed as Fish-people. Their youngest sister, however, did not eat the fish, for she was menstruating (and prohibited from eating roast animals). She stayed outside and when she realized what had happened, she cried for the loss of her kin. The spirit then appeared to her as a youth and told her, "do not cry, for your family is alive"; then instructing her to go under water, closing her eyes as she did. There, a village appeared for her and her family was alive. The Fish-people, then, were once humans but by encountering a spirit, they transformed into others. This, we shall see, is the kind of transformation which happens in the myth of Kuai.

The experiences of the unseen-people can be more dramatic for humans. At changes of seasons, for instance, from wet to dry season, it is said that the Jaguar-people, Dove-people and others, send great winds, crashing thunder, leaves and spines flying about in the air. They become "wild" and one must blow spells "to break their flutes," "to cut their noises." In the early dry season, the *Dzūrūnai* (Cigarra in Portuguese) buzz and drone in the trees, and people think then that long-ago children were calling to their father who abandoned them to begin making a garden. On the other hand, in the season change from dry to wet, when the fish-people ascend, for reasons I am not entirely sure, people do experience many ailments, vomiting, headaches and sometimes death. This is the time when *Wamu* sings in the trees.

Without warning, the animals may pose real problems for humans: as omens (*ka-maíkana*) the monkeys sing at dusk or the owls sing at midnight and people think of death. Their persistent songs *remind* people of the myth when Yaperikuli failed to kill off these dangerous animals who stayed in the world to persecute humans and be harbingers of their deaths. In short, there are times of the day and the seasons when the "shadow" relation that exists between humans and the "other"-people becomes very real, and it is at these moments when people remember the myths.

To return now to *Wamũndana*, and focussing on how the myth explains the relationships of Animals, Spirits, and People, one narrator who told me the story to answer my question of "who is *Wamũndana*," told the story much as it is presented in this thesis and stressed that *Wamũndana* was a person "of the ancient times." At certain points in the narrative, the nature of *Wamũndana* is stressed.

Corresponding to Episode A, following birth, Yaperikuli sends the child away from its mother, off to the forest, where it gets "sickness-stuff," takes them and goes to live as a spirit in the sky. The narrator pointed out that there are three names of the same being: *Keramu* (Baby), Wamũndana, and Kuai.

The three names indicate three aspects of the same being, as follows:

Keramu	Wamũndana	Kuai
Human/Person	Animal	Spirit

The episode describes passage from the aspect of a human child (conceived and borne by human means) to a forest-being (nourished by an animal of the forest) to a spirit (sent to live near the Sun-father's place in the cosmos). Places in the episode then, indicate different modalities of the same being.

One of the things which all narrators state to be distinctive about Wamũndana is song (likaako) and in this first episode, we may at least tentatively discuss what these songs might mean. Our procedure will be to stay primarily within the myth but to find where else in the myth the same songs may be found. By comparing the other instances and the range of contexts in which they occur, then the particular meaning of the songs in the context of episode A may become clearer. It should be noted that different narrators do vary in how they present these songs, but they all do have songs in the same places of narration. For the sake of consistency, I shall use the version presented following Part III, as a guide for interpreting the songs.

In episode A, there are three songs, as follows:

(1) A short, tooting "Mooo!"; a frog-song coming from Wamũndana's anus. There is no other reference in the myth to it, but the anus theme comes up again in C.3 when the paxiuba tree shoots from the earth to the sky from Kuai's anus.

(2) The melody "Tseytsem tseytsem" (always sung in falsetto) is the song known as Maliawa (from, I believe, White

Heron) and is always in the myth the first animal song of any series to be sung. There is undeniable evidence that *Maliawa* is considered a "male," and the counterpart of it is the following *Waliadoa*. The *Maliawa* song in episode A is accompanied by urinating.

(3) The *Waliadoa* (Young Sister) melody is accompanied by Kuai's tears. As the tears fall, so comes the melody "*Nupita'm ta'm deee*...." The words of the melody bear resemblance to the word for "my bath" and it is said that rain and river water are the "bath of Kuai" (rain and tears are both the same word, *idzake*). In episode B.3 both the *Maliawa* melody and rain occur together also, along with streams of spit which fall from Kuai's mouth.

At least part of the animal is explained by modes of *wetness* and part is explained by sexual characteristics denoting both male and female; and part is explained by its functions related to its orifices, or openings of its body which emit song.

What does this explain? Why are these features important? In Section C.1, I suggested that the post-birth sequence described in this part of the myth explains passage, the fact that the Animal and Spirit and Human worlds become mixed until the period of post-birth seclusion is terminated. However, a more significant point can be made here that the *songs* which Kuai produces shortly after his birth *express* the reproduction of Yaperikuli's *soul*. Kuai already begins to function as a separate being and can be "sent away" or *separated* from his father. *Wamũndana* represents the essence of his father's soul, an entirely spiritual principle, which was borne by an human mother and nourished by an animal substitute-mother. The reproduction of a *male essence* (spiritual, knowing) is combined with a *female essence* (human, animal) to produce *Wamūndana*.

In B.1, *Wamūndana* first appears to the four children as a "white man." This is clearly an image of the spirit-people for all spirits and ancestors are said to be "white." Of the four animal-songs in B.1--*Maliawa*, *Waliadoa*, White Monkey, and Jaguar-Bone--Jaguar-Bone is the most important for it carries throughout the myth in all instances when Kuai/*Wamūndana* descends from the heavens. In Section C.1 above, I suggested that the Jaguar song indicates that a transformation related to growth by opening-up is one meaning of it, and the jaguar in Baniwa myths is considered as both a *person* and an animal. Also the jaguar is most closely connected with Yaperikuli himself and represents in many respects the essence of maleness: jaguars are identified with shamans, with various virtues or qualities of men.

The critical moment in the episode is dramatized in the transition from dry to wet seasons, described in B.3, when the uacú fruits ripen. This is the event of the "Summons" which I shall now discuss. I will show that the critical transformation occurs at Hipana where *Wamūndana* takes the children to the uacú tree, and that narrators emphasize this place by the "Animal" theme, while the house at Enipan is emphasized as the house "of people." In Baniwa cosmology, Hipana is considered the center of the universe, and it is also the birth-place of Kuai and the location of the first earth.

All narrators state that the uacú tree which Kuai ascends was huge, bigger than all uacú trees that there are in the world today. In fact, the uacú tree of the myth was not like those of today; rather, narrators say it was a "tree shadow" (*Haiko-idanam*), a bigger-than-life tree (much as *Wamūndana* is a bigger-than-life animal). Who made such a tree? Narrators state that Kuai "made the great uacú." The fruit itself is identified with Kuai; narrators state that it is "Kuai's flesh, Kuai's body." When Kuai ascends the tree, narrators stress by cues that it is an "animal" sitting on the treetop ("like a big-bellied monkey" as one person said) eating the uacú.

The four children stay at the base of the tree, gathering the uacú nuts which Kuai threw down. Their action with the uacú (i.e., throwing them into a fire and roasting them) is never really explained. Narrators sometimes give their actions in whispers; sometimes, they just say (of the uacú) "they are good to eat." When three children roast and eat uacú, narrators specifically state that they eat Kuai's flesh, Kuai's body. Thus they become identified with the Animal *Wamūndana*. The relations which then separate them become (for lack of a single word) permeable, un-mediated, unseparated. The smoke of their fire rises upwards, the Animal smells the smoke and immediately sings (and sometimes narrators imitate this initial song in a high humming noise, which is the noise that a sloth makes). The Animal becomes "sick and dies" and its spit falls down in heavy watery streams from the treetop to the ground.

This spit became a vine which people today see on the uacú tree; this vine is referred to by several narrators as "Kuai's shadow." In other myths which Baniwa tell of their own first ancestors, when these people break restrictions on food during ritual seclusion, they too begin to spit uncontrollably, singing that "they die," until they transform into animals. This sickness is called *purakali* (or "wasting away" sickness) and is said to affect all initiates who eat roasted food while they are resticted.

The Animal instantly revives, however, and descends the uacú tree, calling an enormous rain, a flood of river water. Kuai then "summons" (likapeta) the three children inside his huge rock mouth, "his belly," eats them, returns to Enipan and vomits them up, "without delay." Only one child was "saved." It is difficult to state how this complex imagery relates exactly to Wamũndana; however, I will suggest a few possibilities: in one Baniwa myth, the Anaconda Omawali is also known as an eater of people (and is like Kuai in being associated with river water). In another myth, the great Tarira fish Iniriûeri is an eater of children (and the fish Iniri or Tarira is identified with Kuai in one of the songs). In both instances, the eaten characters stay alive in the predator's belly and manage to kill them. The difference here, however, is that the three children are "dead" immediately when "Kuai eats them." The eating and vomiting theme may be related to animal images in this and other Baniwa myths. Further, I shall show in Section C.4 that the eating and vomiting have to do with initiation themes of birth and rebirth of children.

A second line of interpretation would run as follows. The uacú fruits represent a male food because Kuai/Wamũndana has defined all forest-fruits as the diet during initiation restriction. Uacú nuts are "Kuai's flesh, or body," but cannot be roasted without being specially prepared. The nuts have to be blessed before being eaten. The three children transform the nuts into a non-spiritualized fleshly food by roasting them. They violate restrictions on unmediated contact with unblessed food and with fleshly substances.

The saliva which pours from Kuai's mouth in response to the rising smoke from the uacú cooking fire, can be taken to represent male semen. It is life-giving, like rain, but paradoxically, it is given at the sickness or "death" of Kuai.

The three children who are eaten become the food of Kuai. Kuai later regurgitates them as flesh. The one little initiate who remained outside and did not eat the uacú is therefore identified with spirit, with knowing. This youth is differentiated from the three youths identified as flesh.[6]

A third interpretation would relate to a discussion of season changes; the end of the dry season is a critical transformation in the year when great rains fall. However, it is also a beginning, when people plant new gardens and new growth is expected. It is considered a time of sickness, death and vomiting, as though things were somehow rotten in that time of year. Baniwa also note the falling of the Pleiades during that time of the year. The significance of these facts for the episode is that the three children undergo a kind of symbolic death in the "Summons" of initiation, as the seasons do, as the year does, but are reborn into living others, as adults. Later, in episode C.1, Yaperikuli remakes the "statue-images" from the rotten flesh of the children. Although they have "died," they are said to be "alive." Like the Fish-people or the return of the Pleiades, the children have undergone a transformation, lost in one mode of living as children, and have come to be identified with the Animal-Spirit-Person Wamũndana.

In C.1, the "animal" imagery appears in the little fly, Kalimatu, which is sent as a messenger to Kuai. Kuai appears as a "devourer" of the fly's gift of maggots, taken from the rot of the regurgitated children's flesh.

In C.2, Kuai appears to have more person qualities during the ritual of " oming-out," that is, doing shamanism, singing dance-songs of people. The speech at dawn dealing with Kuai's body will be considered, and the burning (specifically stated by narrators as "the killing of Wamũndana") along with the venomous hair left in the fire.

In C.3, the paxiuba tree is specifically referred to as "the body or shadow of Kuai (Kuai-idanam) from which "people" are remade. Yaperikuli remakes these "people" with their "animal" features. The flutes represent the deceased, which are believed to represent both animals and spirit-people, who are the ancestors.

In the final episode, when Amaru takes away the flutes, person and animal distinctions come to the fore; the spirit of Kuai is not a clear part of the story. The narrator says, Yaperikuli is making the flutes and fools with them, putting anuses on them. Amaru sees this and says, "not like so for my child, my child is a person." She awaits until Yaperikuli initiates his son, then takes the flutes. When Amaru gains the flutes, they are then used in the initiation of her youngest sister, that is, in making her a person. What happens then is that Yaperikuli becomes more like an animal; Yaperikuli's kin becomes the animals. At several points he causes animals to call after Amaru, and at one point Yaperikuli changes into a winter-frog. Possession of the flutes, then, would seem to have to do with making people. But this is ambiguous, for we will see in Section C.4, the flutes are still very much animals.

The body of Wamũndana thus is reproduced in the flutes and in the version of the myth used in this thesis, with the flutes Yaperikuli procures the first sib ancestors, raising them from the holes of the rapids at Hipana on the Aiary River. These first clan ancestors came out of the holes with their animal namesakes singing their names, and with a Kuai-ancestral flute at their heads. The first Hohodene clan ancestors came out of the holes and their speech was the melody of the Partridge, the "ancestor" of the Hohodene (and the clan ancestral flute is Bobole, Partridge). Yet, they were people, the first people. Later, Yaperikuli "gives them souls" by blowing tobacco smoke over them, then gives them pepper and they stay as people. The myth, then, which begins with Yaperikuli's reproducing a child in Amaru, comes round full circle to say that with Kuai, life is reproduced again. This life is a world where Animals, People, and Spirits were not yet differentiated but became so. The Spirit-people and Animals no longer walk with humans; rather, they left their bodies, the sacred flutes, which represent the ancient world, the world in the beginning, the ancestral world. It is only the shamans who can go directly to the spirits or see the animals in their aspects as "people." This we shall come to see in the following section.

C.3. Beginning of Sickness

In Section C.1, I sketched in brief the shamans' mediatory role between the sick of this world and the "owner of sickness," Kuai. The powers of shamans to cure people burdened by the prevalence of ill-health lie at the heart of Baniwa concerns for messiahs. Powerful shamans, it is said, "save" (nadzũ-men) people from their suffering in sickness. For this, people today seek them out or leave offerings at the graves of famous shamans, asking them for their continued assistance.

In Baniwa mythology, the "savior" is Yaperikuli who in numerous stories eliminates threatening or dangerous people and animals who persecute people. For this reason, Baniwa today equate, refer to Yaperikuli as "Jesu Cristo." Powerful shamans can sometimes be equated with both; in 1976, for instance, I heard the life-story of one named Kudui whom people say was "our salvation," for Kudui could "say there would be no more sickness." People made the sign of the cross whenever they approached Kudui's grave and they still seek out his assistance by making requests at his grave.

How does the Kuai myth fit these notions of "salvation" from sickness? Through a paradox, it seems, it "explains" the beginning of all sicknesses, as we have seen, yet my suggestion is that it also refers directly to how they can be cured. The myth dramatizes first, aspects of curing rites that shamans perform; and second, aspects of the initiation processes of shamans. What I will try to do in this section is to show how aspects of performance of curing rites are explained in the myth. I begin with a sketch of an event when the story was told to answer how a serious sickness, venom, began. The story telling was followed directly by a cure. The narrators of the story were both shamans, the same who performed the cure. Following the sketch, I give additional background material on curing practices, then relate these to the portrayal of the myth.

The brief demonstration which I give is in line with Lévi-Strauss' argument in "The Effectiveness of Symbols" (1967), that myth and curing rite closely parallel one another, and that "the technique of the narrative aims at recreating a real experience in which the myth merely shifts the protagonists." (1963: 189)

In the early months of my fieldwork, Felipe, Keroami's step-son, had been sent by the missions to a city hospital because of a severe and near-fatal illness. After months of slow and seemingly ineffective treatment, Felipe returned to Hipana, yet the sickness remained. For this Felipe stayed restricted in diet from eating any animals, fish, or pepper, and secluded from the village, rarely leaving his house and never participating in communal work-projects. The sickness was a great blow to Felipe, for people remembered the past successes of his hunts and the numerous projects to help the community which Felipe had undertaken.

One morning I visited Felipe and he asked if I had any remedies against the venom which was causing the sickness. It gave intense stomach pain, high fever, and generally drying-out of the body, making it appear thin and pale. Whenever any animals or fish were consumed, the sickness worsened.

That night, at the evening communal meal, Felipe's father-in-law, the chief of Hipana, related that such venom was not uncommon, many people die from it, and it is generally a very hidden substance, a "leaf," which a sorcerer had mixed with Felipe's food. A youth then asked Keroami, "has this venom always been with people or how is it?" To this Keroami affirmed, "it is a sickness of the people" and held up both hands in a gesture of starting a narrative (as if to say, "silence!"), "I will tell you." So began the story of Kuai who "owns venom" (manhene iminali). As the story proceeded, Keroami's voice filled the large communal house, then growing dark as night fell. The youth listened in the active mode of hearing an explanation, repeating word-phrases and asking one-word questions to clarify actions. The chief, also a shaman, interjected comments, again of a clarifying nature. Both Keroami and the chief were actively engaged in explaining to the youth the beginning of the sickness. Other elders seated in the room occasionally commented but mostly remained quiet, listening and pondering. The narrating, as I remember, involved much more than the story itself, for the elders continued discussing Yaperikuli, the primal shamans, and curing practices for an hour or more afterwards.

The following day the chief explained the story once again to me and related it directly to a cure which he and Keroami would undertake on Felipe on the following day. The cure would last for three days, for the sickness required prolonged treatment.

In the little I saw of the cure (I arrived late), there seemed to be three phases. In the first, the shamans moved between applying remedial techniques on Felipe and observing the movements and patterns of clouds. The two shamans would converse at length on the shapes and forms the clouds took, "reading" them as signs related to the sickness. Following this, they would return and blow veil-like clouds of tobacco smoke over the crown of Felipe's head.

In the second phase, both sat by Felipe and conversed at length, seeming to focus on Felipe's thoughts and relations with people in the village: how were these being expressed, as fear of certain ones, sadness over loss of contact with people, and so on. When the conversing had finished an hour or more later, Felipe left. The two shamans concluded the cure with sets of chants, accompanied with frequent gestures of brushing away, "throwing away" invisible objects into the distance, doing this in four directions surrounding the place where the cure had been.

At this point, I would like to focus on the relations of curing to myth. My procedure will be to follow the movement of a curing rite along with the myth, running them together as two parallel worlds, to see the kinds of correspondences that occur.

To begin, we noted in Section C.1 that shamans' cures begin with taking snuff.[7] Snuff is said to be Kuai's blood (lirana), Kuai's menstrual blood (likanūpa Kuai), and from our discussion of menstruation, we saw that menstrual blood is the creative source of children. The father's blood makes the child's blood through which the child will grow. Growth of the child and especially birth, we noted, are portrayed in the myth as making an "opening" happen and these are transformative kinds of experiences. After shamans inhale snuff, they immediately open (as shamans say, "Lim̂eloo") the Sky-Door above the earth, which separates this world from the unseen "other" world of Before. (See Photo I, on the following page.) In a sense, the shamans "die" by taking snuff, but it is to make a passage as in the passage at the birth of children.

The shamans say that in the sky is the ancient world, where the owners of sickness reside. The owners will come to show to the shamans where the sources of sickness are, which the shamans will use to cure in this world. Such a "showing" is like a teaching, as one shaman explained:

> This world, it will show to the shaman.
> It is not people that made this.
> This is the world that makes this,
> The first, the ancient world.
> These other people that are there
> Are in the sky.
> For this is also in the sky.
> Where it will end is in the sky.
> The first that will teach us, will teach with us.

Photo 1: Opening the Sky-Door

It is worth noting that the sense of teaching is why, people say, "Yaperikuli left Kuai with us, to teach Malinaliene," the children of the myth. The relationship of teacher to children is sometimes spoken of in terms of "owner" to owned, and this is loosely equivalent to "father" and "child" or "patron" and worker. When the shamans sing, they refer to themselves as "the Children of the Sun" (*Här̂e-ieni*) and they refer to Kuai who will "come to them" as "Our Father's Son" (*Kuai*-*ka*-*Ĉanirikiri*). Yaperikuli is always "Our Father," the Eternal Governor" (*Midzaka*-*Thairi*).

Shamans most often explain the beginning of sicknesses with the story of the four children, telling until Yaperikuli pushes Kuai into the great fire to burn. From B.1 of the story until C.2, we may follow what the parallels between curing and myth are, as follows:
(B.1) In this part of the myth, the four children make song, much as the four shamans begin their cure with song (See Photo II, following page). Shamans call the spirits of the ancient world to "come and walk with them." It is the "true world" which will come; it is not a "made-up" kind of story that the shamans explain, but it is for certain that the other world always exists. In myth, Kuai tells the children when he first appears to them, "I am Kuai, truly I am."

"Sing for us" the children say, but Kuai at first refuses, for they must stay restricted. In practice, when shamans take snuff, they also must stay restricted in diet from eating animals, and from having sex. They must stay separate from their wives while performing cures; part of this has to do with shamans' blood and the sickness which might be caused by contact with menstrual blood. Shamans continue to take snuff three or four times in succession,

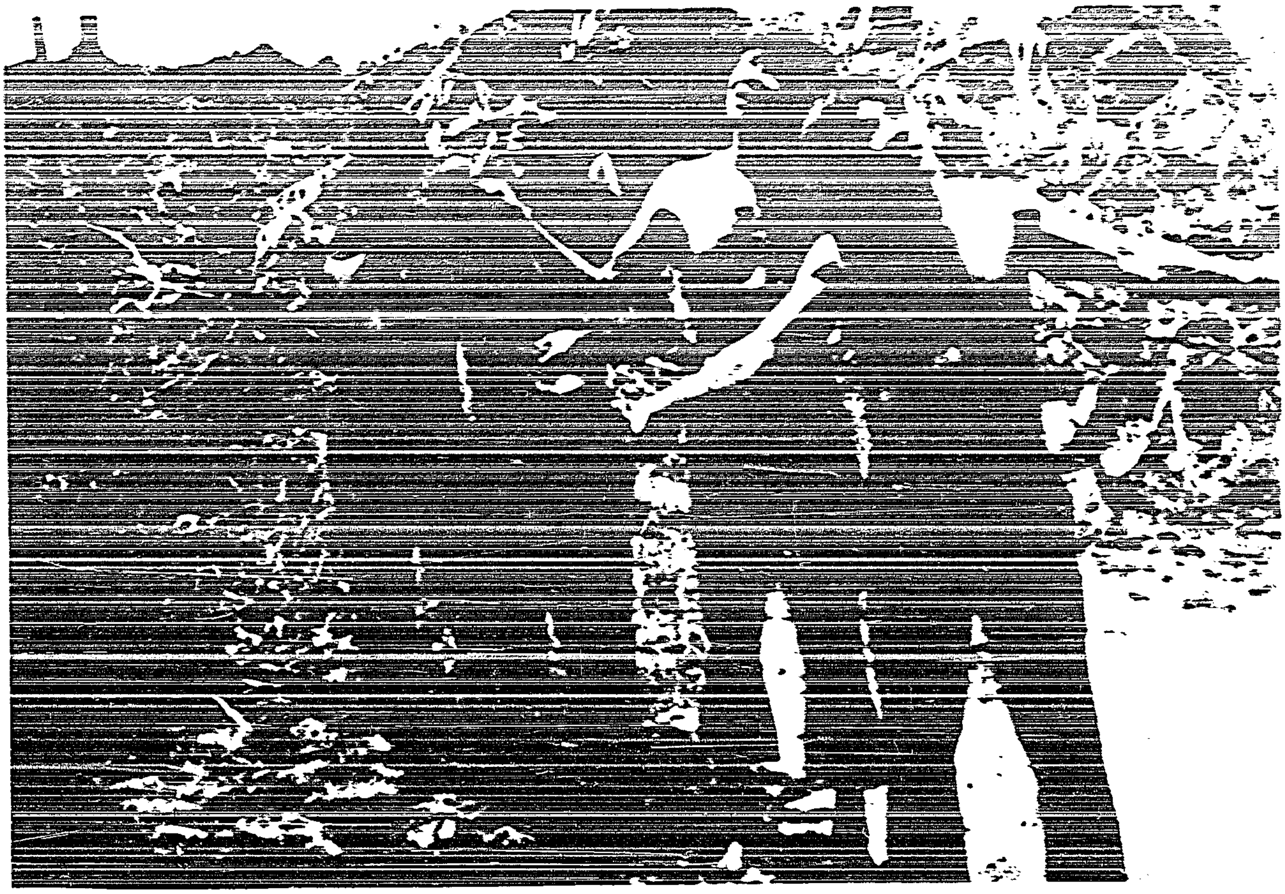
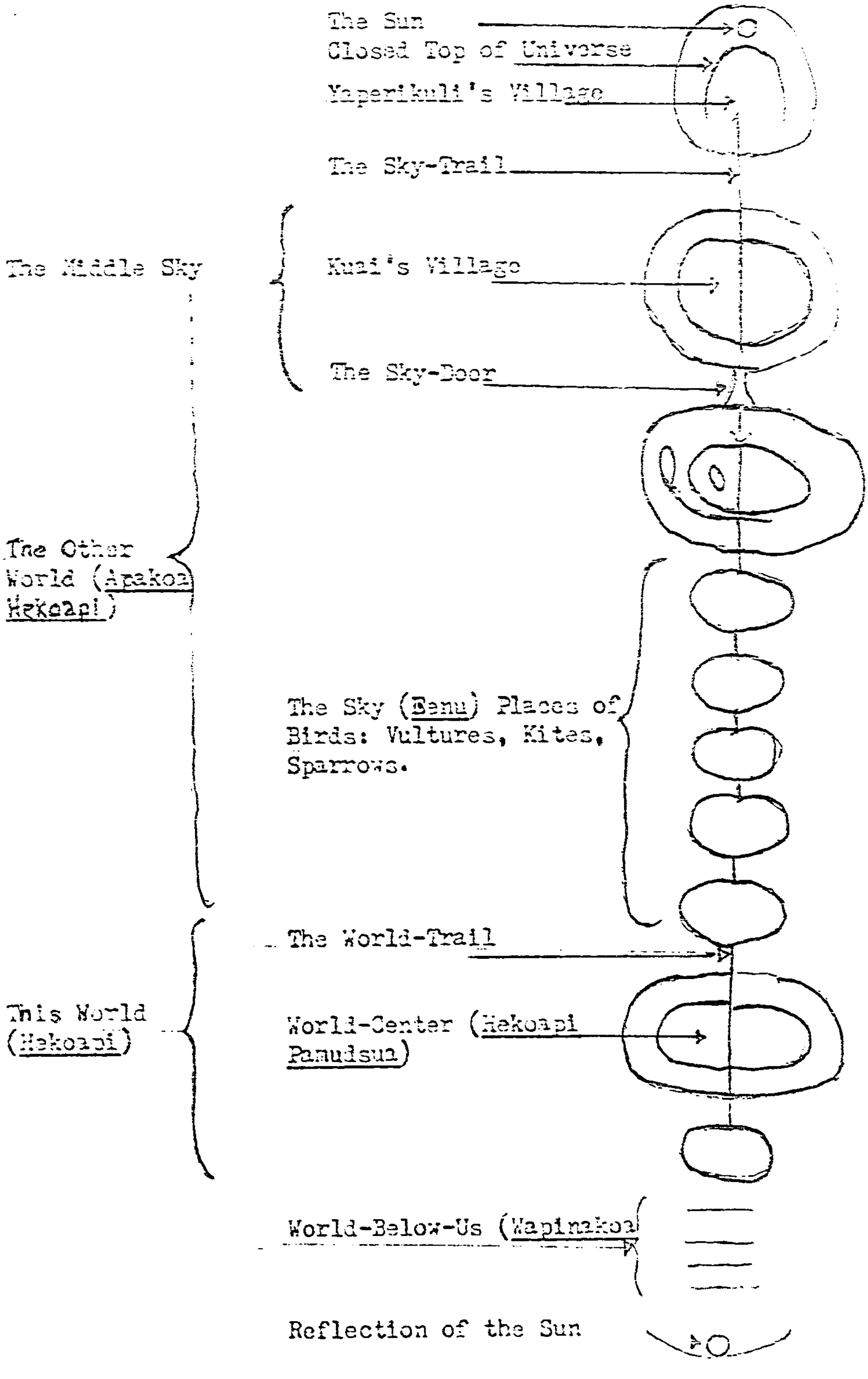


Photo 2: Singing the Owners to Come

much as in the myth Kuai gives to the children fruits to sniff during their restrictions.
(B.2) In Kuai's second visit to the earth, Yaperikuli mediates between the children and Kuai. They await at the House-door and at noon Kuai descends, comes to the house and enters to the middle-place. Yaperikuli awaits, then breaks into the house (given in myth by a sound-mimic, which is much like a spear cutting through a barrier). Both of them stay together with the children.

In curing ritual, shamans sing that both Yaperikuli and Kuai together "come to walk with them" descending to the earth to stay. When Kuai comes, it is always from the Middle-Sky to the earth (Kuai lives in the middle; always occupies middle-places: the reader may refer to the drawing of the cosmos on the following page). Yaperikuli comes also but it is from the top of the world, "where the world ends" (Eenu tsũrũi) like a point, it is said, a knife-point. Both top and middle-skies come to earth to stay with the shamans, to teach them. It is as though the "end of the world" comes to the earth every time that the shamans perform a cure (I will explain more on this below).
(B.3) The event of Kuai's summons begins with the appearance of night, as Kuai gradually descends to the earth to stay with people. A critical moment occurs at the uacú tree when Kuai is with the four children. Three children eat roast uacú, Kuai becomes "sick" and "dies." Suddenly great streams of spit fall from all the orifices of its body, from the treetop to the earth (given in the myth by the onomatopoeia TSŨLŨLŨLŨLŨLŨ...). Kuai descends the tree and opens its mouth; then summons three children inside, eats them; then later regurgitates them.

My suggestion is that this moment of the myth corres-


The Sun
Closed Top of Universe
Yaperikuli's Village
The Sky-Trail
The Middle Sky
Kuai's Village
The Sky-Door
The Other World (Apakoa Hekoapi)
The Sky (Eenu) Places of Birds: Vultures, Kites, Sparrows.
The World-Trail
This World (Hekoapi)
World-Center (Hekoapi Pamudsua)
World-Below-Us (Wapinakoa
Reflection of the Sun

The Universe

ponds with shamans' extraction (*papútsua*) of sickness, for the following reasons. First, in sucking-out itself (*watsūtsū*) shamans say the sky and the earth come together. In the stages immediately before the shamans start sucking-out, it appears (to an outside observer) that they move between the patient and procuring the sickness or the sources of sickness in the sky. Procuring the sickness and sucking-out sickness from the patient follow one another so closely that there seems to be hardly any separation between earth and sky. Shamans say that at this point in their cure, although they may appear to be on earth, they are actually "in the sky." (See Photo III, following page.)

In the myth, Kuai's spit-falling is given by the onomatopoeia "TSŪLŪLŪLŪLŪLŪ..." and narrators always trace with hand motion a falling from sky to earth. The sound itself is related to the word *Watsūtsū*, used by shamans for "sucking-out," and it is also related to the word shamans use, *Tsū-wai*, meaning "where the waters no longer run." Baniwa say that the rivers of the world stop flowing where the ends of the earth meet with the edge of the sky. This is the place called *Tsū-wai*. They say the rivers of the world flow from "The Water Mouth" (*Ooni-nūmana*) in the western edge of the world, towards *Tsū-wai*. The significance of this in the context of the myth would seem to be that the sky and the earth also come together when the water from Kuai's mouth falls to the ground; that is: the sky and earth are one.

A second correspondence to shamans' cures is in the fact that when shamans apply their mouths to the patients to suck out sickness, it is said that they have "the mouths of Kuai." With force they take the sickness into their

Photo 3: Immediately Preceding Extraction

mouths, leave the patient, going off to the sides, and vomit with great streams of water coming out of their mouths, following which the object of sickness also comes out. The shamans repeat this procedure on the patient four or five times, sometimes more.

It would seem, in short, that in the myth Kuai's ingesting of the three children and vomiting out their remains may correspond at one level to shamans' practice of extraction. The following sequence in the myth, C.1, defines, "explains" how shamans are then able to "revive" (liaûetawa) patients from sickness, after they have extracted its sources. Again, I will follow the parallels. (C.1) In the myth it begins with Yaperikuli sending a little fly to the sky with a gift of food which it uses to make a request that Kuai come back to the earth and blow spells on peoples' food. The fly's request is stated as a payment (ikoada) that Kuai must do, to end peoples' suffering. Kuai rejects the first offer, but later accepts.

In curing ritual, patients must bring to the shaman a payment (dawai), which is specifically for the shamans to "blow tobacco smoke over the patients." This blowing is "to return the soul of the patient." The shaman takes the payment to Kuai, who has the sick person's soul "trapped" with him, enclosed within his arms. When the shaman presents the payment to Kuai, then Kuai's arms "open" and Kuai gives the sick person's soul back to the shaman. Whereupon, the shaman may return to the earth and with tobacco smoke blow the sick person's soul back into the patient's body. Tobacco smoke, above every other substance Baniwa know, makes sick peoples' souls return, and "revive."

(C.2) In the myth, the festival when Kuai descends to the earth takes place during a night, a long night, when Kuai and Yaperikuli sing and dance together and blow spells on food together. At the conclusion of the festival, as Day returns, Kuai and Yaperikuli "dance in a circle" while a great fire is being made. Then suddenly Yaperikuli pushes Kuai into the fire and a great conflagration follows. Kuai then leaves the earth, ascending to the sky, not returning again.

It should be noted that for shamans this part of the myth means far more than curing the sick, as will be more clear in a moment. I suggested in Section C.1 that it is an "end-of-the-world" drama when sky and earth become separated. Shamans say that in the ancient times of myth, the world "came to an end" during a night, a long night, when darkness covered the earth, and animals walked all over, giving sickness and eating people. Later, Yaperikuli "saved the world" by making the Sun and Day return, through his song.

Lévi-Strauss in The Raw and The Cooked points out that South American myths depicting long nights and great conflagrations are frequently associated with beliefs that the Sun comes to the earth, causing the world to be burned (293). This would seem to correspond to Baniwa belief, except that the conjunction of Sun with the earth at dawn causes the separation of two worlds, a condition described as "salvation" (Idzumeken) and the end of a long night. Happiness (Kathimákoe) then once again returns to people when they are "revived."

My suggestion is that the myth dramatizes the end of a cure when shamans sing that they have "revived" (wawaûeta), returned life to the sick patient. They sing that they have "saved" the person from death, and they dance in circles around the place of curing. They "throw away" (kūnūnū) whatever traces of sickness there are remaining, off into the distance. It is a time of Happiness (kathimákoe), for the sick people have revived, their souls have "returned" to them. The shamans sing that they have "separated" (wawapaita) sickness from the living. Their chants are made with the great noises of their rattles all together. This would follow Lévi-Strauss' point that such noise-making frequently acts as a separator of worlds, when, for instance, in eclipses, noise-making causes the return of the Sun (Lévi-Strauss, 1969: 319 et passim).

It is thus that shamans' cures parallel the story's drama: "It is the effectiveness of symbols which guarantees the harmonious parallel development of myth and action. Myth and action form a pair always associated with the duality of patient and healer." (Lévi-Strauss, 1963: 196).

C.4. Rites of Initiation

The rites of initiation the Baniwa perform today have been greatly modified as a result of missionary pressures, and in many villages they are no longer done. In the interest of documenting what is all too rapidly disappearing, I have provided descriptions of these rites, based on many elders' accounts of their performance, in Appendix A. I never participated in such rites, nor ever saw how men play the sacred flutes; but that seemed to matter less to the men than that I be persuaded not to accept missionary nonsense and, rather, understand "why Yaperikuli left Kuai with us."

The reason why people hold initiation rites when sacred flutes are played is "to teach Malinaliene," the children of myth; and the story was told frequently to "explain" these rites of passage. There are two ways Baniwa can talk of these rites: through the explanation of the myth, or through descriptive accounts of what people today do.[8] The two accounts differ, though the telling of one may lead into the telling of the other. When one emphasizes contemporary practices, how the elders of today counsel and speak to children, or questions on specific ritual items, construction of ritual paraphernalia, and so on, the answers are given in the present, descriptive mode. When one leaves open the specificity of the question and asks a generally framed question ("how are they done?" "why do people do this?"), one gets an explanation in terms of myth. If a ritual practice has direct connections with corresponding practices in the myth, a switch may be made.

The correspondences between the ritual practices of today and those mentioned in myth are numerous. Below I list those I have found referred to in both:

(a) Houses of initiation and distinct ritual roles governing the proceedings of rites;

(b) A phase of initiation called "the Summons," beginning restriction and seclusion of initiates;

(c) A phase of initiation called "the Coming-out," following a month of seclusion and occuring at the end of the ritual;

(d) Ritual restrictions on the consumption of pepper, cooked fish and game, along with a ritual diet of seasonal forest-fruits;

(e) Whipping, with long whips, or Kapéthe, accompanied by song and the playing of sacred flute melodies;

(f) Sets of chanting-spells, Kalidzamai, which take place during the Coming-out festival. The explicit purpose of these is to end the food restrictions;

(g) Sets of dance-songs, drinking of cane beer, and dance patterns;

(h) "Speeches" which occur during or preceding "The Summons" and during the "Coming-out" following Kalidzamai;

(i) Ritual ornaments such as headdresses, body painting and decoration;

(j) An absolute prohibition on womens' seeing the sacred flutes, and mens' telling of their appearance.

Besides these, there are correspondences of practices related directly to the flutes: their ornaments of fur, feathers and hair; their hiding-place at the bottoms of streams; and so on.

It can be seen that the myth corresponds closely with initiation rites which people perform today and, as I related in Section C.2, people frequently say of rituals, "thus we do, as in the beginning, as it first appeared." The switches or jumps between explanations of contemporary practice and the "long ago" are easily made, we noted, precisely because initiations are times when the "long ago" ancient world of the ancestors and Kuai, the sacred flutes, are shown to initiates, the body of the Animal becomes alive for them.

My demonstration in this section will take the starting-point of stories about initiation (Episode B) and proceed to the end of the story (near D.4) and it will show how the story "explains" passage in the life-cycle. Much of the drama in the myth revolves around characterizing age-groups and sex-groups, the "contrasts and conflicts between them" (R. Rosaldo, 1978: 19) throughout passage in the life-cycle. Within this drama, three critical moments occur: at the "Summons," at the "Coming-out" and in the "War" over the flutes. I will briefly summarize below Episode B, where the Summons occurs; and Episode C, where the Coming-out occurs, in terms of contrasting roles of elder-initiators (Yaperikuli and Kuai) and youthful initiates (the children). Then I focus on possible interpretations of the critical moments and compare the same moments with corresponding points of life-cycle rituals, as done today. Following these comparisons, I return to consider the meaning of the "War." (Please refer to Summary chart, following pages.)

Summary, Episodes B-C

Section	Characters		
	Children	Kuai	Yaperikuli
B.1	(1) Four Knowing-ones, (2) Differentiated by Size and Age, (3) Play with Instruments	(1) Begins Initiation. (2) Begins Restrictions. (3) Teaches Melodies. (4) Whips, to make Children Grow.	Mediates between Kuai and Children.
B.2	Spatial Position is between low (at the port), and high (looking up at the sky); outside Ritual House and inside.	(1) Central Position in House; (2) Ritual Food-Giver (3) Song-Giver.	(1) Establishes Identity of Kuai, (2) Affirms Restrictions. (3) Establishes Ritual Diet. (4) Arranges Spatial Position of People. (5) Guardian of Children. (6) Tobacco is Symbol of status.
B.3 Summons	(1) Differentiated as those who keep restrictions, and those who do not. (2) Children "die" as children when they are "summoned" but they are "made to grow." (explained below.)	Causes the growth of children, by internalizing them, which causes them to "die" as children and grow.	

Summary, Episodes B-C, continued

Section	Characters		
	Children	Kuai	Yaperikuli
C.1	(1) Children are re-made, as ritual beings, with ornaments; (2) Children come to know how to suffer hunger.		The Maker, who gives ritual status to children; and a mediator who determines the end of childrens' suffering.
C.2 Coming-out		(1) Ends restrictions, as lead shaman.	(1) Shaman-companion.
		(2) Teaches songs which are the songs of people.	(2) Dance-companion.
		(3) Imparts Knowing in speech, of life after Kuai has gone.	(3) Hearer of Knowing.
		(4) Ends tasks of Initiation.	(4) Transformer: Separates Kuai's Body from Spirit.
C.3		The paxiuba tree, Kuai's body causes the externalizing of the power to reproduce. (explained below.)	Procurer and Maker: of sacred flutes, all ornaments, reproducer of song.

Two critical situations in the myth occur in the events called the "Summons" and the "Coming-out." I would like to discuss these in terms of processes of growth and reproduction. My suggestion is that in the "Summons" the story dramatizes how elders make children grow. My proof of this is as follows:

(1) The uacú tree, where the "summons" takes place, is related to growth and transition. The fruits ripen at the end of the dry season and the beginning of the rains. In real life, people plant gardens during this time. In myth, Kuai "breaks shells" off uacú fruit. The fruit and the fruit-tree are equated with Kuai, for one is said to be "Kuai's flesh" and the other is "made by Kuai." "Breaking shells off fruits" is equated by Baniwa with "breaking skins with whips" which is done "to make children grow."

(2) When the three children eat uacú, they internalize a fruit which represents growth and transition. When Kuai descends the tree, and makes a huge rock cave of its mouth, this is very similar to how the earth "grew by opening up." We have seen also that shamans make "doors open" and thus they are able to "know" (door and mouth have the same root, inuma). When Kuai "summons" the three children inside, it is to internalize them, as they internalized Kuai's flesh. Internalizing, as we have seen in the myth of menstruation, brings changes in peoples' reproductiveness.

(3) Kuai's closing of eye and mouth, "eating the children," is the reverse of birth, for children are born when containers become "opened." Kuai's mouth and belly become huge "containers" in which children stay. When

Kuai flies away singing "HEEEEE HEEEEE," the song is mournful, but it is the Jaguar-Song and as we have suggested in Section C.1, Jaguar-Song indicates a transformation, by "opening up," "making grow."

(4) Death and Revival are coupled with Birth in processes of change. Kuai "dies" and sickness rains down as spit; then he revives and descends to consume the children. If children "die" and are then transformed, a process like birth, they nonetheless will come to be "remade" as adults.

We might briefly compare the process of growing so dramatized in myth to the corresponding point in rituals which people do today.

First of all, the single most important ritual role in initiation is the "grandfather" elder who (very much like Yaperikuli): (a) shows the sacred flutes to youths in the phase called the "Summons"; (b) guards over the seclusion and restriction of youths, ensuring that food restrictions are kept and protecting against unnecessary sickness which might befall the initiates; and (c) advises the initiates on laws respecting the flutes.

Second, fathers are the ones who begin the process of initiating their sons, when they determine it is the appropriate time, and they "wish to show" their sons the flutes. Fathers and other elders do all the flute-playing and making of melodies. When children are shown the flutes in the phase of the ritual called the "Summons," they "see" the ancient world, the world "before them," and the Animal who died or was separated from the earth long ago. This is a very dangerous situation for it is as though the world of the dead comes to life for them. For this reason, children must be secluded, for the passage is one like sickness only more severe. If they should break restrictions on food, or tell other people about the appearance of the flutes, they will die.

When the elders and fathers show their sons, they effect change on them; this change has a lot to do with making the children grow by transformation. The elders whip the children, "to make them grow quickly" and this is like breaking the shell off a fruit. By hearing the music of Kuai, an internal change in the children takes place. It is said that before the children see Kuai, they "do not have souls." By seeing and hearing the flutes, souls "enter" for the children and "stay in their hearts" (souls and heart are the same word, Ikaale; these souls may be thought of as the souls of the ancestors). The internal change which results is that the children are then able to "think, remember" (napienta). This "thinking" is precisely what turns children into reproductive adults, for thinking is one element necessary in the conception of children (as, for instance, Yaperikuli made Kuai by "thinking towards" Amaru). "Thinking" and "knowing" are then two critical changes in children when they come to see Kuai.

In this respect, the changes which take place in childrens' souls and knowing occur over many years. That is, though youths are initiated once, they continue to see the flutes and participate in rites where they are played theoretically for the rest of their lives. After they marry and have their own children, then they are able to transmit their knowing to their own offspring by showing them the flutes, and/or teaching them the stories of Kuai.

Finally, a possible interpretation of the Summons in ritual would follow from what we have suggested about the birth of children. When fathers and elders initiate children, this is like giving birth, for: (1) the children are secluded in houses, which may be like containers; (2) children are made to grow; and (3) children "die" by seeing the ancient world, but they will come to be remade as adults.

The second critical moment of the myth is the "Coming-out" festival and, as its name suggests, it is an externalizing kind of process. I have already discussed this event in several places in this chapter, but as it relates to initiation, one might suspect that the drama of Yaperikuli's killing of Kuai has something to do with an image of Oedipal crisis: fathers kill their sons at the end of initiation. Throughout the myth, however, fathers and sons are involved in a see-saw kind of relationship--both friend and kin, yet hostile and foe when together. In the end, fathers come to remake their sons completely, making them produce song, fully ornamented and able to initiate other children. Thus, my suggestion is that when Kuai is burned, and from the burning place the paxiuba tree comes out, this is a reverse of the Summons and has to do with rebirth, by which sons are able to make life again.

The paxiuba tree extends from the earth to the sky in an unbroken continuity of above and below. If, as we have argued all along, Kuai represents the link between father and son, this link is unbroken as shown by the paxiuba tree. It cannot be broken, as the myth says, by the father (Yaperikuli) because if he broke the paxiuba himself, "it would kill him." The bond itself of all fathers to sons is far too strong and powerful to be severed by the father.

One internal comparison should also be stressed here. If the paxiuba represents the male father/son bond, then the *patawa* tree of Episode A represents the mother/son bond. This bond, however, is characterized by *discontinuity* for when Kuai is born, the mother "dies" as a result of the patawa *breaking* into *Amaru*.

A brief look at the corresponding point of rituals may give a sense of how rebirth works. Again, the mediating role in ritual is the grandfather who, first, blesses pepper with the initiates' food. This is the critical act which signals the end of restrictions, for pepper is the one food symbolic of integrating people back into social living. Second, the grandfather advises and counsels the initiates through speeches about the "laws of living" in the world with people after they have come out of the house of initiation. Third, the grandfather whips the children after he has finished explaining to them; and the whips are called "the whips of the Sun." Fourth, he instructs the initiates to give out blessed food and pepper to everyone reunited in the house.

In these laws that the elder speaks, it is with the Kuai flutes and trumpets lying beside the elder. The elder stresses that the "laws" were given in the ancient times "before" the initiates; and then in nearly the same breath the elder takes the initiates around in a circle showing the flutes and naming each one. He speaks of them as "of the body, the world-owner's body," and with slow and careful emphasis, the elder says what this means: "Yaperikuli made this, this K-U-A-I W-O-R-L-D." The emphasis is then followed with a startling warning: "*Sickness* with venom you will get if you tell of its appearance." (Just as, it would seem, Kuai left venom in the burning.) The speech then moves beyond this, in a mixed tone of telling the initiate how to live well, to treat kin well in the world, not fight with them, or speak badly of them, give them food, and never give them poison. Throughout, the elder stresses the "once-only" giving of the speech, for the initiates are expected to "guard the words for the rest of their lives." It is thus that the elder teaches of what living must be like after they have left the house of initiation, after they have left Kuai. Kuai has "already been with them," the initiates are "already of Kuai."

The rite then moves to the Coming-out proper. The elders and initiates form a dance-line which goes in and out of the house of initiation, but it is with song, much in the same spirit that shamans sing at the end of their cures, when people have "come back to life." These songs, it is said, "give people happiness" and it is not surprising for the children are "newly born" as adults. The words of the songs are "ancient" words and many are untranslatable. Rather more important is the effect of the harmony of many voices singing together, Pimalie malie. To an outsider, at least, the songs evoke a mixture of joyous festivity, but also something haunting.

We come, then, to the final episode, and it is separated from the coming-out and making over of the flutes by a long period of time passing. This long period of time passing and the subsequent episode, I would suggest, refer to a long period of bachelorhood after initiation and preceding the making of marriage. To give a sense of how the institution of marriage is undertaken by people today, I provide a sketch on the following pages, after which I suggest some points of comparison.

As marriage takes its institutional forms today, the preferred marital partner is a patrilineal cross-cousin, of another clan or tribe in the immediate vicinity. Sister-exchange marriages are frequent; and deferred exchange may go with them, but it is with the expectation that exchange will be completed in the not-too-distant future.

When youths have completed initiation, there is frequently a long period of bachelorhood before they marry. They remain in their fathers' houses, work in their fathers' gardens, give hunted game to their mothers to cook, and generally are still very much under their parents' authority and direction. Bachelors, however, often take prolonged journeys away from home, following merchants, going to work in distant rubber camps, or visiting kin in other villages. They form tight networks of friendships with peers, doing common work-projects, or trading basket-work and other products of their making.

Maidens, likewise, after initiation, are still very much under the authority of their parents before they marry. They work daily in gardens and in manioc-processing, or they tend the family's young children. They are expected to prepare food for their family's daily meals, or prepare the family's contribution to the communal meals. They may spend months working at the missions; however, if their parents decide they are needed for work at home, they are expected to follow their orders.

As far as I could see, young adults begin courting without any intervention by parents. There is much flirting, teasing and provocative following by both young men and women (but it is hardly as ritualized as, for instance, the Sharanahua sings). Courting continues through exchanges of small gifts, trinkets, secret rendezvous, and spending long hours in conversation. If the young ones like each other well enough, the young woman tells her suitor to go ask for her from her mother, then her father. Following this, she will speak with both her parents. However, before a bachelor can take a wife (kainoni) he ought to have made a house of their own, have a plot for a garden, and have some cash set aside for needed goods.

If there is no clear move on the part of the bachelor to find a wife, parents may gently, sometimes not so gently, drop a hint to him that he is obviously staying in the house too long. Father and mother discuss amongst themselves, but it is the father who then usually takes his son with him to a future spouse's home. Sometimes, it is said, a young woman has no idea of the marriage-making intentions. The son is obviously under strain and a little "shame" in following his father in an uncertain venture. Yet both youth and maiden are expected to obey the orders of their parents who "know" more. (Ideally, it is so. Today, many youths and maidens make their own choices and frequently refuse their fathers' demands.) The young man's father speaks with her parents to see if they will give their daughter. The initial speech-making may be followed by an interim of deciding.

A festival then usually marks the wife-taking (I have never seen one; various people told me of them). The young man contributes to it baskets of roasted fish and forest-fruits. The young woman makes beer and when her in-laws-to-be come, she serves them with gourds. During the fest, the two fathers talk amongst themselves, seated in adjoining hammocks, about the "payment" (Makoada). The payment is in goods, such as baskets, hammocks, etc., and is for "the taking of children"; it is given to the daughter's father.

While the talking and drinking proceed, the son takes his spouse quickly, and without much notice or fuss, back to the village where they stay. Any time within a year following, the young husband may return and do several months of work for his in-laws, fixing houses, depending on what is needed. There is very little embarrassment or "shame" about this, though it is said that if the in-laws order a great deal of work to be done, the young husband will be reluctant to return.

The dramatic portrayal in myth revolves around contrasting men and women as opposed groups at war with one another over the creative powers in the initiation of their sons and younger sisters. In Note 52, following the narration presented in this thesis, I explain that the context of Episode D is as folows: (1) Yaperikuli is initiating his son with the sacred flutes and instructs him to wash at dawn with the sudswood, padzuma. This practice is usually done at the end of initiation and other periods of ritual seclusion; (2) Yaperikuli expects his son to arise before dawn to bathe, for ideally male initiates should show their wakefulness and ability to withstand cold. The failure to do so shows a "lack of thought"; and (3) Yaperikuli's son is very likely in a period of menstruation.[9] When youths "see Kuai," the sacred instruments, they become in a condition in which all of their bodily orifices are said to be "opened," literally or symbolically. (Compare, for example, a similar belief among the Barasana who live on the Pira-parana River in Colombia; Hugh-Jones, 1973.) Men say, the sacred instruments "make holes" in the initiates' bodies. This includes the "opening" of their sexual orifices as well. Mens' menstruation, or Kewiken (roughly, in a condition of having holes) begins for them during initiation seclusion. I was told also that the condition begins for them when they are youths (in age, roughly thirteen or fourteen, "when their voices change, become lower"). From this time forward, men menstruate on nights of the new moon (see Note 52, for further discussion). This time coincides with that described in the myth, for initiates bathe with padzuma on nights of the new moon. Menstruation, men say, makes them sleepy and they lie in their hammocks, instead of arising at dawn.

Yaperikuli's son is thus described in the myth as being at the end of a period of bachelorhood and prior to wife-taking. The episode focusses at various levels on the institution of wife-taking, on the creative capacities of male initiates (the son) and female initiates (Amaru's younger sister who is initiated after Amaru takes away the flutes), and on the powers of fathers (Yaperikuli) and elder women (Amaru) to control these creative capacities. In short, I am saying that if the episode deals specifically with mens' menstruation and womens' menstruation both of which are present in initiation, then these are metaphors, in a wider sense, for the creation of social groups and who will control it.

The extremely volatile situation of a war would suggest that marriage in Baniwa society is portrayed in terms of a "competitive" kind of relationship: men/fathers must demonstrate their capacities to kill in order to "take" wives. Women/mothers must take away mens' creative powers in the flutes in order to become people (that is, initiate their sisters, as we discussed in Section C.2). The end result is that men "win" a war but with the sacrifice of their kin, the animals; and women "lose" the power to control. But it is double-edged: women, in the end, still have the ability to menstruate (more on this below) while men, today, make this ability public through their ritual. Womens' initiation rites are depicted in the myth as private, enclosed within a settlement, and hidden from the sight of the men.

This would be an interpretation at the manifest level of the myth. Another level of interpretation can be found in character protrayals. With the women these flutes come across as being like Anacondas, for: (a) in the beginning of the episode, they are kept under water; (b) when they come up on land, they make "loud noises" as Anacondas are said to do; and (c) with them, the women "stay with happy hearts" (huiwa) seeing the flutes. Further, Anacondas are depicted in myth as beings whose desires cannot be satisfied (see, for example, M.6.0 in Part V). Explicitly, the Anaconda is a sexual symbol, a phallus, and thus when the women take them away, the men "become like women." Also, the episode begins with Yaperikuli's son's failure to arise at dawn "to wash his penis"--again, suggesting that male impotence is a critical transition to pass before making a marriage. Potency is achieved by becoming a warrior, the role cast for passing the imbalance. (This conclusion does not surprise me: while I was in the field, bachelors would oftentimes come to my room and we would discuss "the necessity" of getting married. Clearly, the event for them required a mustering-up of considerable courage, and the encouragement of others to accomplish.)

The war itself is essentially a struggle for who will control the ability to create and re-create social groups. We have seen that the being which Kuai represents causes the growth of children, a process much like birth: we have seen also that Kuai causes internal changes in people, as in menstruation. Finally, we have seen that the flutes are the external forms for accomplishing these changes which men have and use in ritual. The struggle depicted in war is thus quite focussed on who creates in Baniwa society. The end, as I say, is double-edged, for women still have the power to menstruate, though, as the myth says, the source of that power is not "in their hearts" but elsewhere. Their hair is the one thing, in the very end of the myth, which "they blow" and with which "they think." For men it is the flutes that they blow, and which are covered with fur and through which the cycle of reproducing begins again.

D. The Tellers and Their Styles

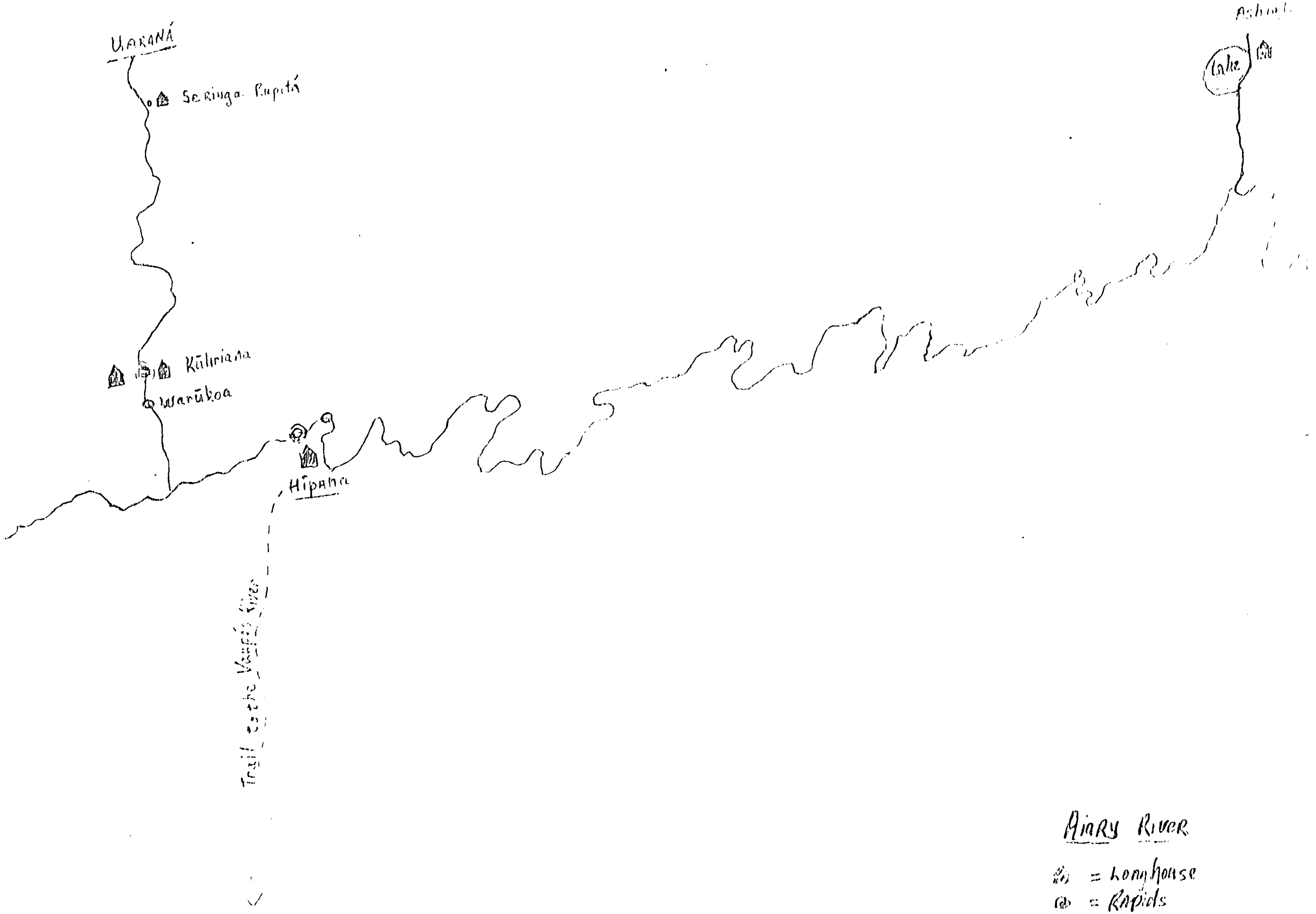
To be an effective teller of the story, one must be able to convey the meanings of Kuai as we have reviewed. It is not surprising then, that the best tellers were specialists such as shamans, dance-leaders, or elders with experience in initiation rites. All these positions carry with them the tasks of explaining and teaching others--juniors and other people--through public discussion, showing correctly what otherwise might not be clear or known well.

I have mentioned two narrators who, in my experience, were by far the most influential elders of their respective villages: Keroamí of Hipana and Keramũnhe of Kuliriana, both Hohodene elders. Both frequently narrated the myth of Kuai and explained peoples' questions through it. Keroamí was a former chief, a shaman and a dance-leader, a chanter of spells in initiation. Keramũnhe also was a chief, a dance-leader, and a chanter of spells in initiation. Though not a shaman, he was known for curing through the use of spells.

In this section, I sketch the life-stories of these two elders, then discuss and compare their respective styles in narrating the myth of Kuai.

The life-stories intersect at several points in time when outsiders like myself lived in their villages on the Aiary River. The German ethnographer Koch-Grünberg was there in 1903, got to know most of the people on the river, and passed by the longhouse where Keroamí was then a young boy. Later, 1927-28, two members of a border commission passed through the area doing surveys and saw the longhouse where Keroamí was living and the longhouse where Keramũnhe was growing up. Missionaries from 1949 through the mid-50's again met Keroamí and Keramũnhe, and left a picture of the two together making a festival. In constructing the life-stories of the two elders, I do not hesitate to combine these brief glimpses and the information they give with the narrators' own life-accounts. The accompanying map on the following page locates the villages mentioned in this narrative.

To begin, when Koch-Grünberg lived for several months on the Aiary, there was no village at Hipana, only a path that cut through the forest past the falls (Koch-Grünberg, 1907). On the Uaraná stream, the location of Kuliriana, Koch-Grünberg noted a single longhouse of a clan called the Kaua, who then inhabited most of the upper Aiary. Hohodene longhouses were on the lower river and its effluents. Keroamí stated in his life-story that his father, Marcellino, lived at the headwaters of one stream Ashiali, and Koch-Grünberg noted a longhouse there also, though he was barred access by logs crossing the stream. Koch-Grünberg stated that it was for fear of a military commander, and when he approached, everyone in the longhouse fled.


Ashini
Lake
UARANÁ
Seringa Rupitá
Kūliriana
Warūkoa
Hīpana
Trail to the Vaupés River
Aiary River
= Longhouse
= Rapids

The commander was an officer from the border post, and for years before had forcefully taken people on the Aiary for public works. Keramũnhe stated that his grandfather, Pedro, lived on the lower Aiary, and Koch-Grünberg notes an elder Hohodene with the same name living in the approximate location, about two days upstream from Ashiali. Even if the two were different people, which is probable, all other Hohodene longhouses were within two to three days journey of one another; and one gets the impression from Koch-Grünberg's account that there was a great deal of visiting, mutual festing, and intermarriages of Hohodene with other clans on the lower Aiary at this time.

Between 1903 and 1927, by my calculations, Keroamí's father moved from Ashiali several times in search of better garden land on the upper river. At Ashiali, great distances separated the longhouse from the gardens, and once Keroamí's mother was attacked by a jaguar. They moved from Ashiali onto the main river, then to the Uaraná stream, living at several places on the Uaraná, including twice at one place called Kuliriana, where there were two longhouses being made or already there on either side of the river, of Hohodene and their affines the Oalipere. Soon after, Marcellino made an agreement with the chief of the Kaua clan to live on and farm the good land near Hipana (it was Kaua land). The family moved and began clearing the land, inviting several of their kin from the lower Aiary to come with them. Keroamí was initiated at the new house at Hipana. Marcellino showed him and several younger brothers the sacred flutes and blessed the initiates' food.

There they lived, making good gardens and enjoying the plentiful fish and game near Hipana. In 1927, the ethnographer Curt Nimuendajú travelled through the area and onto the Aiary, the first to do so after Koch-Grünberg (Nimuendajú, 1950). He passed by Hipana rapids and noted a large longhouse and gardens nearby. The longhouse was "almost without dwellers"; most, including the owner of the house, Marcellino, had gone to Venezuela "for fear of white merchants" then on the Vaupés River. (The merchants had, before Nimuendajú arrived, gone through the Aiary and Içana, and seized by force and violence, boys and men to work in armies, while girls and women would be forced to do labor. Many people fled before Nimuendajú could even greet them. Koch-Grünberg noted the same fear of white rubber workers in 1903.) Keroamí notes that after living at Hipana, his family went to San José on the Guaviare River in Venezuela, and lived "on the hammock" (meaning, they were away from home, visiting) for a year and perhaps longer.

In 1928, a Brazilian Major de Sousa of the Border Commission made the same route as Nimuendajú, and met at Hipana Marcellino and all the others who had returned. Already they had made the longhouse one of the cleanest and best-kept de Sousa had seen (de Sousa, 1958). Keroamí remembers helping de Sousa carry baggage and equipment by overland trail to the Vaupés. Everyone from Hipana and surrounding villages helped in the task.

Keramũnhe's grandparents, Pedro and wife, and their children, also had relocated upstream from the lower Aiary, but well before Marcellino, and they settled at a place called Seringa Rupitá at the headwaters of the Uaraná. However, they seemed to change locations several times, moving between Seringa Rupitá and downstream to the two longhouses at Kuliriana, where their clan families were living. Pedro soon died; his son José and wife María continued living in Kuliriana through the birth of their first son Keramũnhe, in about 1910-11.

When Nimuendajú arrived in 1927, he travelled up to the Uaraná headwaters, passing the longhouse at Kuliriana, but found José and María already had moved back to Seringa, where José was chief. Nimuendajú recounts that one village below Seringa Rupitá was making a festival, an initiation of two girls of the village who were "painted black from head to foot." He also saw there, "a youth, the son of the chief of Seringa Rupitá with enormous chest decorations of triangular and shiny silver, careful face paint, and aromatic leaves in his g-string" (the youth was *perhaps* Keramũnhe). They danced with flutes, panpipes, and deer-bone flutes until the next morning, whereupon Nimuendajú thanked them and left.

The following year, when de Sousa arrived, he met on the lower Aiary two canoes coming downriver from the Uaraná. José, María and seven of their children, including four youths, were on their way to São Gabriel, at the mouth of the Vaupés River, some two weeks journey, to sell chickens, farinha, and manioc scrapers to merchants.

Keroamí and Keramũnhe, then, obviously were at different stages of life-experience. Much older than Keramũnhe, Keroamí was already "with wife," while Keramũnhe was young and showing the beauty of youth (*waîípali*, meaning young and beautiful). Keroamí's encounters with white people were, like those of his parents, one the result of escape, another the result of work. Keroamí was learning to become a shaman, receiving instruction from his father, grandfather, and another elder in a practice many, many men of the Aiary were doing at this time. If Keramũnhe and Keroamí were neighbors, living on opposite sides of the stream, it was only for a short time. When his family left the Uaraná, they lived from then on at Hipana and did not move elsewhere, other than temporarily.

From the turn of the century to well into the 1930's, the people of the Aiary and Içana Rivers were doing seasonal work for whites gathering latex called "balata" (tree of the Sapotaceas family) and piaçaba in Venezuela, particularly around the Guaviare River and the very upper reaches of the Içana, near Papunaua in Colombia. Balata was an enormous business, and both Keramũnhe and Keroamí worked many long dry seasons on it, and no doubt the two worked in camps together. Their lives were transitory: going to work camps, staying and working seven hard months of the year; then returning to their villages. The transitory sense is given as a refrain in Keroamí's life-story: "We worked ... I returned ... We worked again on the Papunaua ... I returned ... Four times I went to the Guaviare ... I returned ... We worked balata and abacate ... I returned." And, as is the story of countless other South American native peoples, they were robbed, cheated, and exploited, under the slavery-like system of patrones. A set of clothes for a year's work was not out of the ordinary.

Keroamí noted one profitable venture while on the Guaviare and Vichada Rivers. The tribe called Wanhiwa, whose shamans were and are reputed to be truly powerful, befriended him and allowed him to snuff niópo, the strongest of any snuff Keroamí remembered having taken.

When the two chiefs of Hipana and Seringa Rupitá had grown old and were no longer capable of continuing the tasks of their role, they requested their sons, first Keroamí, later Keramũnhe, to take on the responsibilities. Keramũnhe had by then taken a wife, Nazaria, a Wanana of the Vaupés, and together they stayed as "Owners of the House" at Seringa Rupitá. They came to raise a large family, ultimately with ten children born one year after another. Keroamí's first wife had died during one of his work absences; soon after, about 1945, he procured a second wife, also a Wanana, a widow with two small sons (Felipe being one). Together they stayed as "Owner of the House" at Hipana.

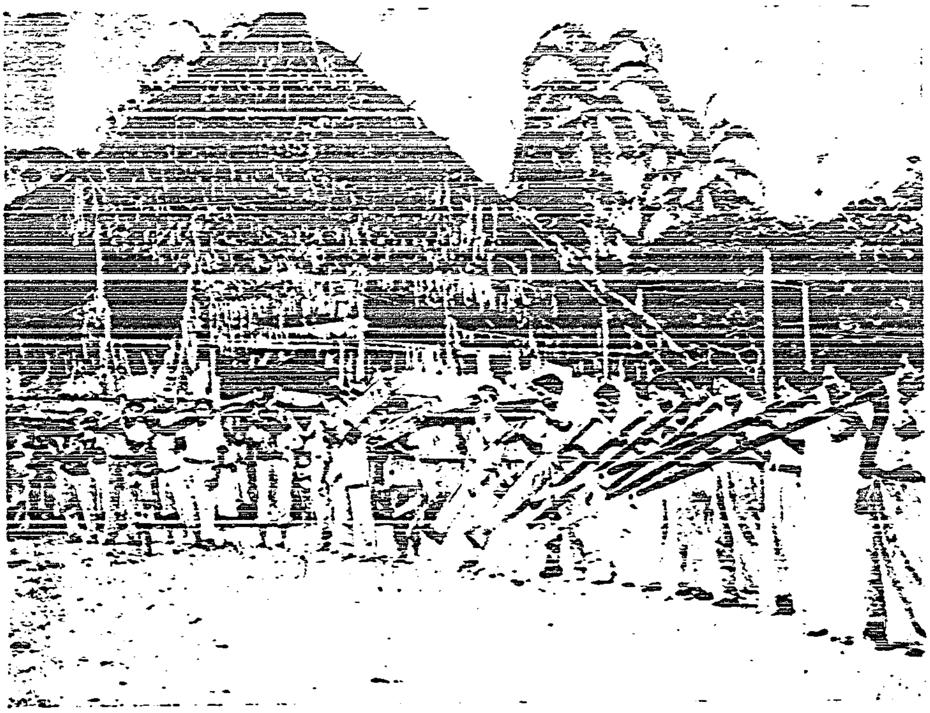
In the decade of the 1940's, people say the three villages--Seringa Rupitá, Kuliriana, and Hipana--held frequent festivals of exchange together and several rites of initiation. Initiations took place at Seringa Rupitá at Keramũnhe's and Nazaria's house, and José was the lead chanter of spells and counselled the youths. Three elders; Marcellino, José, and one shaman named Kũdũi (whose house was on the island Warúkoa; he was a clan brother of José) were the three most influential in that decade to initiate. All Hohodene youths, the present adults of the three villages, and Hohodene young women were initiated principally by these elders, who blessed their pepper and food, gave them counsel, or showed them the sacred flutes. Besides initiation, people danced "a lot of Jurupary" at Kuliriana, meaning non-initiation festivals of exchange when Kuai flutes are played.

In 1949-50, missions came to the river, first Dona Sofia (New Tribes Mission) and soon after the Salesians. Both missionaries had a great impact on those who encountered them. Sofia spoke at Hipana; as people remember her words, she told them to "become half-civilized, make new houses, wear clothes, and stop doing Jurupary festivals." But as the Aiary Baniwa do on such occasions, for it was not the first time they had heard this, they listen but ask more practical questions. If Sofia wanted to change the houses to smaller ones, how would new houses be made if not by their own labor? Unless Sofia could give them tools with which to rebuild, Keroamí and the others were not in a position to order their people to do it. Enthusiasm for Sofia's message came instead from the youths, Keramũnhe's sons and daughters, who followed her, even going to hear her speak "Deo-Iako" ("God-speeches," sermons) in Cubeo longhouses, although they could not understand Cubeo.

After Sofia's initial visit, rubber-working from 1950-1960 followed on the heels of evangelism. Once again the people of the Aiary went, working and returning, working and returning. Keramũnhe's children went and worked on the average eight summers in rubber camps; Keramũnhe worked only once.

About 1951-52, Salesian Padres began missions on the Içana River and, sensing that the evangelists would return, soon after started constructing chapels on the Içana and Aiary. Keroamí helped the Salesians a great deal, first by organizing the construction of the chapel at Hipana, then by working at the main mission post. During this time, a Salesian Padre with a genuine and scholarly interest in Baniwa mythology (Wm. Saake; see all citations in Bibliography), visited the mission on the Içana and recorded Keroamí's version of the creation of Baniwa ancestors (very much the same that I heard). The Padre arranged through Keroamí for a festival to take place in Seringa Rupitá, and photographed a dance-line (see the following page).

By 1956, NTM evangelists were returning with renewed intents and the support of the Içana Baniwa. Their aims



Keramúnhe-Keroamí-Sons of Keramúnhe

The People of Kuliriana and Hipana Begin a Fest: With Yapurútu Flutes (6 on the right), Surubí-Fish Flutes (left of Yapurutú, two in middle) and Baskets of Inajá-fruit and sugar cane (8 men carrying on left and middle). The two dance-leaders, Mãndero, are Keroamí and Keramúnhe in the middle of the line.
(The foto is a reproduction of one which appears in Saake, 1956; the location of the fest was Seringa Rupitá, at the headwaters of the Uaraná stream. The entire population of Seringa Rupitá moved downstream to Kuliriana in 1977).

were more radical this time: in an effort to cast out both the Salesians and the "Jurupary" flute cults, evangelists provoked fights, destroyed chapels, and physically abused Catholics. They exposed the sacred flutes. In Hipana, one American evangelist, refusing even to recognize Keroamí as chief or the peoples' work on the chapel, took all the statues, broke them, and threw them in the river. To non-believers who refused baptism, physical abuse was not uncommon. The Salesians aggravated the situation by making bonfires of the New Testaments that the evangelists were handing out in villages. Even today, there is still much, much bitterness in remembrance of these times.

If the missions had come to the Aiary to stay, forcing themselves is not too inaccurate, both Keroamí and Keramūnhe threw in their lots with the Catholics, until today. The Catholics were more tolerant, more willing to hear and record Baniwa religious traditions. Further, they tolerated the shamans. Yet they were not without their demands: drinking-festivals were either modified or prohibited; rites of initiation were modified, for the children would get their education through schools.

This undermining of the authority of the elders has not gone unnoticed. Keroamí frequently expressed to me dissatisfaction with this, noting that there is far less "respect" and "obedience" today of elders by the children. Numerous instances of Hipana children stealing things of others, openly violating prohibitions on seeing the sacred flutes, and even injuring the elders, can be told. One shocking incident occurred in the last few days of my stay at Hipana, during the confused and abnormal conditions created by the new airstrip. A young boy not yet initiated, nearly killed Keroamí when the old man refused to allow him the use of his step-son's fish trap. The boy secretly retaliated with a stone aimed at Keroamí's head. Blame was cast partly on the boy's parents who "did not teach respect" and partly on the lack of proper mission school education.

Besides the obvious injury, one person's immediate comment was, "What if Keroamí had died? We would then have no one here to do spells for us." Keroamí was the only one then in Hipana who knew extensive numbers of spells and who taught them on request. A great deal of the "respect" which Keroamí had was founded on this exceptional knowledge. Whether it was in applying "growth" spells for his children's gardens, curing various ailments (including the more venomous ones), initiation spells, or even spells to soothe and take away the itching pain of ant-bites from his three year old step-grandchild, Keroamí knew an enormous variety. What difficulties Hipana elders had in making the children "respect" their words, were at least tempered by "respect" for their abilities in performing these cures.

When I first met Keramũnhe in October, 1976, as is the custom, he and other elders, men and women, greeted me and listened to my explanation of purposes and interests in "peoples' ways of living." For most of my first visit, the elders remained distant. Keramũnhe directed his sons to help with whatever I wished to know. "Kindly and benevolent" were my first impressions of Keramũnhe, yet "commanding respect and obedience"; "dignified" was another. One day Keramũnhe had shot a small ant-eater and gave it to his sons and their wives to cut up and distribute. Later that day the youngest son wished to have a photo taken with his parents. The son and his wife dressed in their finery and nervously awaited; then Keramũnhe and

Nazaria came slowly and reluctantly. They would do it, but for their children. The two young ones struck a solemn pose, but Keramũnhe at least stood tall, arms crossed, with a faint smile and a pride that glowed, like the elders before them.

My first impressions were enhanced and deepened some eight months later when I took up residence at Kuliriana, and it was through an introduction by Keroamí that Keramũnhe took on the task of teaching me more of the spells and myths he knew. On numerous occasions, I could see the weight of authority which Keramũnhe carried. Most, if not all the young men and women had been initiated by Keramũnhe. Youths listened with respect as Keramũnhe taught myths and spells. Young women requested that I play on my cassette recorder Keramũnhe's initiation counsel speeches, for "it was good for them to hear again and again." People relied on Keramũnhe to do curing spells and initiation spells. Young men feared the consequences of the elders' anger if any secrets about Kuai were to come out in the open; and adult women respected to the full "not knowing," asking or hearing about them.

However, with all the respect demanded by the elders and the elders' counsel, this could also feed the greatest tension among the young ones, tensions which focussed on the very counsel that they gave. The young son, Agó, who had the photo taken, was no longer in the village eight months later as a result of a fight with an elder brother and his wife. The stated issue in the fight, as was the issue of so many other fights I saw in Hipana and Kuliriana was that the chief of Seringa Rupitá, Agó's elder brother, did not "treat people well, treat kin well when they visited the village." For this tempers flared and a fight ensued, and the following day two younger brothers had decided to leave the village.

Only a few weeks after this occurred, a similar sort of thing occurred in Hipana. In one of the many work projects that the chief of Hipana had organized, several people of the village refused to work, causing considerable amount of bad feeling in those who did work. Early in the work day, one of the chief's younger brothers had become overheated with strong brew and a desire to fight to show "his strength." The chief told him to leave the work-group but soon after the news came back that the younger brother had begun a serious fight and had been clubbed. The chief became so irate at the conflict and the tension which had been building, he proceeded to attack the aggressor with a machete. The chief was a close friend of mine, so I took the machete away from him, as they brought his younger brother to lie down for treatment in my hammock. The chief then sought to iron out his conflict with the father of the aggressor through rapid speech. All the old people, Keroamí included, stood or squatted in my room watching, calmly smoking and observing. The old people did not actively intervene in their juniors' conflicts, they did not settle them. They watched and waited for tempers to cool. Their silent presence and calm gazes on the injured no doubt had a quieting effect on the people, but it was left for their juniors to "speak" until the evil in "their hearts" had passed or ended (as it is said, Manhekaale ikaale, people whose hearts are bad and wish to fight; people whose hearts are "dumb," for manheka can also mean this). In general, the "speaking" is either done immediately or on the day following the conflict. A "re-union" then is held among all villagers, in which the adult elders of the village air their grievances, while again the old ones listen.

Of the two elders, Keramũnhe clearly had a more decisive and ongoing influence in Kuliriana than Keroamí had in Hipana. A good part of the reason had to do with the differences in life-stages of both, as we have noted in various places. Also, people frequently pointed out that Keramũnhe was one parent of the dominant family in Kuliriana, while Keroamí "had no sons of his own" (both Felipe and an elder brother were step-sons) and both daughters were living in Venezuela.

In his late eighties in 1977, Keroamí could work only a little, and in terms of practicing the art of shamanism, Keroamí could not "bear" taking snuff any longer. Nevertheless, other shamans frequently called on Keroamí as an assistant, for he had, after all, practiced with the high-shamans of the past generation. In the male initiation ritual held in 1977-78, Keroamí may have performed the key spells, kalidzamai, along with Keramũnhe. The ritual was held in Kuliriana.

Keroamí's life-story concluded in early 1978, for then he died, one among the last of the really old ones on the Aiary River. At the conclusion of the life-story he told me, "Thus I have lived, so old am I", everyone else on the Aiary was "like a child" to Keroamí.

Keramũnhe was, one might say, still going strong in 1977 and very probably will continue to be one of the more influential elders on the Aiary, being called on to do spells in initiation, teaching and counselling juniors and sons the numerous curing spells and sacred stories. On several occassions, Keramũnhe expressed to me his feeling that missionaries and others had done considerable injustice to Baniwa sacred traditions, by their stance of "prohibiting" them or even mocking these traditions. The greatest danger Keramũnhe saw was that the younger people would soon forget the teachings of the elders and hence lose a vital continuity with the ancestors.

To conclude, I quote from Keramũnhe's counsel-speech spoken to initiates, for these, people say, "are good to hear again":

> Once I tell you,
> You greet your kin well wherever you see them.
> Wherever you go,
> You give to them.
> Once I will tell you,
> What they have said, those your ancestors.
> I give my speech to you,
> You hear and guard my speech,
> You will live well, as they did, those your ancestors.

D.2. Styles of Narrating

In Section C.1, I suggested that the telling of sacred stories establishes a qualitative relationship between the tellers, hearers and audience, and the sacred times of myth. The relationship is mediated by the teller, who is like a shaman or chanter of spells in creating a path to the ancient past described by myth. I have shown in various parts of Section C, that the narrating of myths is a form of artistic performance and interchange between teller and hearer; that the art is of drama and that through it, sacred times are created and re-created. Keramũnhe's and Keroamí's styles of narrating the story of Kuai differ sharply in several respects. To show this, I discuss three points of stylistic difference: speaker - hearer relations (or what I call pair relations in narrating; uses of sounds *versus* speeches in the creation of drama; and a comparison of "formulas" used in the telling of the Kuai myth.

(The quotations I use are from Keramũnhe's narration presented in this thesis, and Keroamí's narrations, some of which may be found as Notes following Keramũnhe's narration.)

Pair Relations in Narrating. Whenever Keramũnhe was teach-a spell and very often in recounting myths, there would be someone else with him as hearer. Usually it was his second son John who had at one time learned the practice of shamans but had left it. Keramũnhe was nonetheless teaching John to know well the spells and myths. In the narrating, John's role was most often to repeat phrases, and this repetition served several functions. For one, it marks pauses and separates two connected thoughts (which gives added justification of line transcriptions, noted by asterisks in the text). For another, it makes for harmony between speaker and hearer; as is often the Baniwa style in explaining, the hearer affirms what the speaker is saying by repeating words or phrases. Repetition gives a melodious effect when the two people speak the same phrase twice over and with the same voice intonation. For instance, in the text, lines 735-6 are spoken softly and with reverence, referring to Yaperikuli's giving the sacred flutes for people today (John's repetition is in parenthesis):

> "*Likadaa linta noada* ... *Pandzali* (*pandzali*) *pandzali*
> "He gave it, it seems, for today...
>
> (*Té pandzali*) *pandzali*."
> (until today) today."

The hearer's repetition can add, by turning around two words spoken, giving an effect of rhythmic balance to the phrase. In line 63:

> "*Liawa*. *Likadaaka*. (*Likadaaliawa*.)
> "He goes. He makes him. (He makes him go.)"

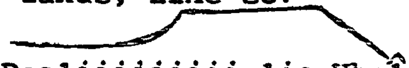
Second, in the pair relation, the hearer asks questions, to clarify who is doing what, what the character is doing, who says what to whom. If not a question, then an appropriate comment which sometimes leads to the speaker's saying something more. In lines 15-16 of the text, following Keramūnhe's statement that Kuai is the "knowing" of Yaperikuli, John inserts a comment that Yaperikuli began Kuai, Kuai is his child. This led Keramūnhe to emphasize both statements, as well as to add that Kuai is the Child of the Sun. To read this, there are then three connected thoughts of Yaperikuli's knowing, the child Kuai, and the Sun-Father. This adding of comments works well with repetition; for instance, in lines 148-50, Keramūnhe makes an emphatic point that Kuai's songs go with whipping, to which John repeated the thought but added that both are connected with childrens' knowing Kuai.

On the other hand, the speaker expects an enunciating of appropriate phrases, and repetitions to follow, to support him in the narration. Sometimes John would wander off and explain something to me outside of the story. In lines 600-07, this conflicted so much with Keramūnhe's stride, a few sharp words quickly put John back into the story.

Finally, when the story's action involved sound and intensive drama, repetitions and comments stopped during the action, but were noticeably more consistent immediately before and after the dramatic moment.

As for Keroamí and Felipe, the two hardly communicated during Keroamí's narrations. Felipe listened, but only made an occasional comment and these were rare. Three times only during an entire narration, twice as a comment which gave emphasis, once as a question to which Keroamí responded to the effect: your question will be answered in what will happen next. There were no repetitions of phrases nor words in any of the ways Keramũnhe and John did. The reason, perhaps, was Keroamí's stated expectation that Felipe would listen to the story whole, and then recount it well as Keroamí had. On occasions late in my fieldwork, when I sat with Keroamí and without Felipe, I tried the repeating mode, putting myself in the role John had with Keramũnhe. It seemed to break Keroamí's stride in narrating to have this done consistently; thus only on rare occasions would he pause and expect a repetition.

Uses of Sound. There are a variety of ways Keramũnhe uses to describe and create dramatic effect through the uses of sound and sound-words. The first and most frequent is the use of voice intonation plus word distortion to give descriptions of the passage of time and/or movement in space. For instance, Kuai's ascents and descents between earth and sky. Word distortion is through lengthening of vowels (shown in the text by double, triple, or dashes in between). Change in voice intonation is a gradual or quick rising, as in crescendo, a slight separation, then a falling and the falling is heavy. In line 200, first the position of the Sun is noted, then Kuai flies up to the port, stops, and lands, like so:



Dzaliiiiiiiii-lio-Hhala!
Uu---uup he comes-and lands!

My inflection marks show rising and falling intonation. There is no way of translating the first and last words exactly; they are pure motion-words; the second has the effect of sudden falling. There are numerous instances in the text where these occur; I include inflection marks over all of them and explanation in brackets.

Sound effects make for the power of the drama of certain moments. As I have discussed briefly in Section C.1, sounds are used for transformative moments: Amaru's being broken open at birth; the equivalent sound in myth being the bursting apart of containers. Following through the text, then, in line 217, when Yaperikuli breaks into the house, the sound is like that of an arrow which pierces through a barrier. In many myths, Yaperikuli is known and equated with special arrows by which he prevents dangerous or potentially dangerous beings from harming people. In the context of the episode, Yaperikuli is acting as mediator between Kuai and the children, a potentially dangerous situation.

The dramatic moment described in Part III, The Summons, is when Kuai smells the smoke of the childrens' fire, becomes sick, and sings out. Then spit falls from all the orifices of his body, and this is given as onomatopoeia: "*TSŪLŪLŪLŪ*..." (line 305) like a falling of a stream of water; and Keramūnhe's voice dropped from high to low, along with a gesture of his hand tracing a falling path from treetop to ground. The noise itself is composed of the particle "*tsū*-" which I find related to the word *Tsūwai*, meaning "where the waters no longer run." The Baniwa say that the rivers of the world stop flowing where the edge of this earth meets with the edge of the sky. This place is *Tsūwai*; and the significance in the context of the myth would seem to be that earth and sky meet, come together at this one moment. Further, the other half of the particle, -*lūlūlūlū*, which is spoken very loudly, is related to the sound of thunder, imitated in other myths as: "*KŪK-KŪLŪLŪLŪLŪLŪ*" in a roar. There are other possibilities for the noise which I discussed in Section C.3.

In the episode of The Festival, Kuai is burned. In no other myth that I know of is the sound mimic replicated with such force and explosiveness as this. There are actually three sounds in lines 480-6. The first is the same breaking apart, bursting asunder; in context, remember it is Kuai's body which stays with the earth, separated from the spirit which ascends to the sky. The second is the burning, like the burning of a huge garden. The only sound which comes close to replicating it in other myths has to do with pepper. Pepper is a hot food; when characters eat it, it "burns ... Hishi!" In context, Kuai has given the people pepper as food, which ends their initiation. The third sound, the crackling and sputtering of the fire, "TZT'T'T...," is the sound of fire when it spreads over a large area.

Immediately following the fire, after it has cooled, the paxiuba tree appears, again through noises which are like guns shooting and machetes cutting open. The paxiuba tree is like a gun in that it is a hollow tree. In context, remember that Kuai says immediately beforehand that his body is the gun, the machete, and the tree.

In Episode D, there are numerous sound effects, and most I explain in the notes. The crucial transformation occurs in the War. In lines 680-8, the first sound is precisely the same as in other myths having to do with pepper. Again in context, the women have just given out the pepper. Pepper in myth is equated with an "arrow, the arrow of Yaperikuli," for it "kills fish and animals"; that is, food which then may be safely consumed. This moment of the myth is, therefore, comparable to The Burning of Kuai.

In each of these moments of drama, Keramunhe precedes it with a gradual building-up in action: places of characters are noted carefully as are times of day. Specifying of characters' actions occurs. Then things come quickly: song sometimes precedes the climax, then the sheer speed in narrating doubles, as the crescendo reaches a pitch, a peak of explosive, forceful sound. Transformations then occur one after another, two or three together without pause. The climactic moment then comes quickly to a second, then a third, until it is done. The finished moment is one which can be prolonged also, but may be spaced with comic relief--a few chuckles as Keramūnhe makes Yaperikuli say, "oh no, what now," "Aaaah," or something like "oh, what a shame." Keramūnhe does this well and repeatedly; whenever a climactic moment comes, it builds to a pitch, is given intensely, then followed to a finish.

At the first three equivalent moments in the myth, Keroamí's expressions of drama differed consistently from Keramūnhe's. The fourth, the war with Amaru, was never a part of Keroamí's repertoire. Keroamí's style was more explanatory at these transformation moments, having characters speak more, as opposed to letting sounds go. If the drama becomes toned-down, it becomes a great deal more complete in detail.

At the birth of Kuai, there is no explosive sound; rather Yaperikuli opens Amaru by encircling the crown-point of his head, where "knowing" is located, and puts the elliptical shape on the place where the child is to leave. Through this action alone, Amaru is opened. The significance in this can only be related to shamanism, for what follows the opening is that several kinds of sickness-giving things come out before Kuai. The sickness-giving things all relate to shamanism.

In footnotes 27-31 of Keramūnhe's text, I include translations of Keroamí's descriptions of the second transformatory moment, when Kuai is at the uacú tree with the children. The action is noticeably longer to relate; each moment is explained and given far more emotive content along the way. The sound-effects are multiplied; there is not this concentrated peak explosiveness as with Keramũnhe. The climactic moment comes with the childrens' entry into Kuai's belly, and the one child's screams of fright. The expressions of sadness following the death are far more poignant. Kuai's return to Enipan is descriptively more forceful and detailed, as Kuai comes crashing down to the earth, a "huge person." There is no comic relief spacing the drama; rather, the problem switches immediately to Yaperikuli's revival of the children.

In Section C.1, I quoted from Keroamí's version of the burning of Kuai, and the speech which Kuai makes before ascending to the sky. Keroami emphasized this part of the story more so than any other narrator. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that Keroamí's experiences as shaman were related to such emphasis. The Inferno image very probably can be related to Keroamí's conception of a Catholic hell-fire. The speech has a tone verging at points on a crying-song which Baniwa make at the death of their kin. Yet Keroamí affirmed that "Kuai is there," "not dead," which gives hope. However, it was like a secret for Keroamí to tell (as if: "do not tell anyone, but it is true; there Kuai is").

Turning to a discussion of "formulas," I mean by this something similar to Lord's discussion in The Singer of Tales, Chapter III. Also, I find useful Edmunson's discussion of poetic effect in the pattern he calls "keying" (1977: xii). The formal speech patterns in narrating myths gives a way of reading and interpreting the semantic features in the text. It was obvious from hearing Keramũnhe's narration countless times that the patterning was symmetric and concise. Also there are innumerable "stock phrases" throughout the text, such as ritual openers, beginning and ending phrases to mark points in the narrative of transition, greeting exchanges, place-markers, and the like.

The formal speech patterning is most often heard in voice intonation, pausing, and hearer repetitions, as I have discussed above. A complete thought is expressed frequently through a pattern such as: rising voice--pause (and repetition of final word)--falling voice which completes the thought. The rhythmic pattern is unmistakeable. In lines 76-80 of the text:

N̂epa bda Mune (pause, repetition)
They catch Bumblebees.

N̂eta niana na akhedali (pause, repitition)
They put them in an earthpot.

N̂epa Madenhali (pause)
They catch wasps,

N̂eta apada-liko (pause)
They put them in another.

Na-Kuai-tewa pida.
Their Kuai-te things.

The formal poetic pattern would be: A-B-A-B-C. To read this patterning, there would be reason to suggest that the pair, Bumblebee-Wasp are formally equated, with the semantic difference between them being size and perhaps color. We would remember that size at least was an important feature in other parts of the Kuai myth.

In another part of the myth, the pattern of rising-pause-falling is given in a variation (lines 47-53):

47 Neenitsa bda nadeetana nani (pause)
There they carry /Kuai/ then--

Ni-Amaru bda Apaita. (pause)
To ni-Amaru an other.

49 Pania-liraha (pause)
From many he drinks?

Niame, paitetsa. (pause)
No, only one.

51 Paapali-tepethe. (pause)
Small-sloth's milk.

L̂ian-ikatsa-b̂irii. Niame, paitetsa. (pause)
That one, it is her son? No, there is but one.

53 Roanheitsa bda noada. (pause, plus emphatic repetition)
She knew it seems.

The pattern in lines 49-53 would be: A-B-C-A/B-C, with emphasis on the last. The theme of "only one" versus "other," would present a pair which we do find in numerous other parts of the myth.

Still another kind of example is that the beginnings of rituals have the same manner of opening. In the part of Episode B called The Summons, lines 245-257 deal with the preparation for the festival, Kuai's approach from the sky to the earth with song and rain clouds appearing. The pattern of speaking the entire set of lines is very nearly the same as in the preparation for the Coming-out Festival, when Kuai also descends to the earth from the sky. Ritual openings like these are, we might say, held very nearly constant in their manner of speaking. Differences between them are more noticeable for this; further, entrances into festivals, for the fact that they are held constant, give a way of looking at what follows as somehow profoundly meaningful to the rituals. Entrances and exits to and from sacred places are constant, but what is profoundly important is what happens inside or in-between.

Turning to Keroamí, his style had none of the qualities of formal patterning that I have so far discussed. It makes translating a different kind of task. Keroamí frequently strings five or six stock myth phrases, one after the other, such as: time plus place plus dialogue, and so forth. This does not obscure meaning but it results in a great number of short, elliptical lines. To give an instance of contrast with Keramũnhe, in the same part of the children with the bees (and slightly beyond):

They go catch bees.
They get string,
They tie the bees
They put them in a pot
In the long-house.
One week. (Implied: time passes.)
Yaperikuli went to see, (a garden)
Already he went
"Hee Hee"
Shoes, everything. (Kuai comes, clothed.)

This kind of clipped action occurs frequently. The stock phrases and thoughts which seperate parts of the story matter less to Keroamí. All the stock phrases, ritual expressions, time markers, greeting exchanges, and so on, are absent, clipped, sometimes mixed up. More, the song-melodies which Keramũnhe sings in such harmony, are in Keroamí's narrative, strings of sound, as: "hēēhēēbūlūlūlū" instead of melody.

For these reasons, then, Keramũnhe and others of Kuliriana, as well as people of Hipana, said that Keroamí knew "only pieces" of the story, not fitting them harmoniously together. What, in my opinion, gave Keroamí's style effectiveness instead was the ability to explain the key transformative moments in the myth; and it was at these moments that there was no clipping; rather, the sentences became complete, detailed, and explanatory.

E. Place

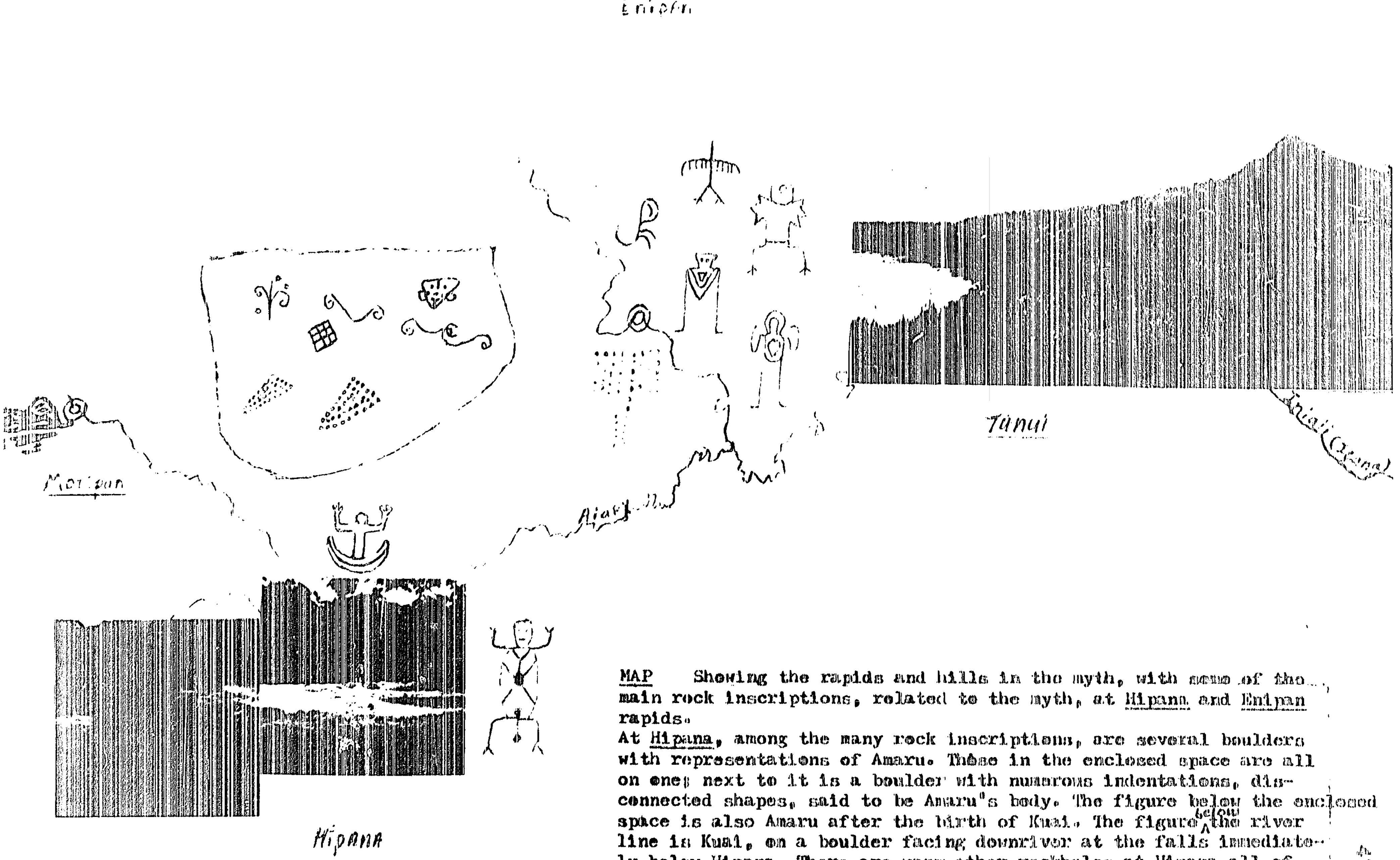
The setting of the myth is very local for the people who tell it. Narrators could point to Hipana falls as they spoke, or point to the Uaraná stream and say, "right here, this very stream, was where Amaru took Kuai." The events of the myth that happen on this earth take place at the two major rapids and two major ranges of hills on the Aiary and Içana, as may be ~~seen~~ on the map on the following page.

All of these places are sacred sites and respected as such. Several are hedged with taboo. Motípan is never visited; it is said that whoever goes there will become fatally ill. One Maaku went there and before his fatal illness, he told of rock formations, much "like a city" and boulders which people judged to be "statues" of Amaru. Sacred petroglyphs cover the rocks at the two rapids, and they represent most importantly people in the myth. The Hohodene say these glyphs were made in ancient times, "when the rocks were still wet," and people could leave their shapes embedded in them.

The glyphs, figures, and statues are testament to the Baniwa that the events in myth took place. Elders teach their juniors and whomever wishes to know them seriously. They point to the locations and explain in a few brief words their significances. The key place is Hipana rapids. There, the elders teach, Kuai was born, the great uacú tree was there "on the other side," and the paxiuba tree broke open the earth to connect with the sky. There besides, Yaperikuli procured the first ancestors of Baniwa clans from the holes in the rapids. Hipana is considered the "World-Center" (Hekoapi Pamudsua), and this seems to be the belief for the Aiary Baniwa clans, Içana River Baniwa clans, and distantly related Arawak kin of the Baniwa. Thus the Tariana who live today at Jauareté Rapids on the Vaupés River, and the Puinave and Tatú-people on the Inirida River north of the Içana, believe the same.

Hipana is the "center" in a horizontal sense as the center of this earth on which people live; it is also a "center" in a vertical sense as the middle of the Universe, between the planes and villages of the "other world" in the sky and the plane of the "World-below" the earth. Following the map, I give a relatively simplified drawing of the Universe, based on drawings which two Baniwa shamans did at my request. One needs to know the general shape and form of the cosmos to understand the movement of characters in the myth, but I refrain from discussing in detail all the places, names of places, and significances. I add a few brief comments, following the drawing, on the relations between cosmos and myth.[10]

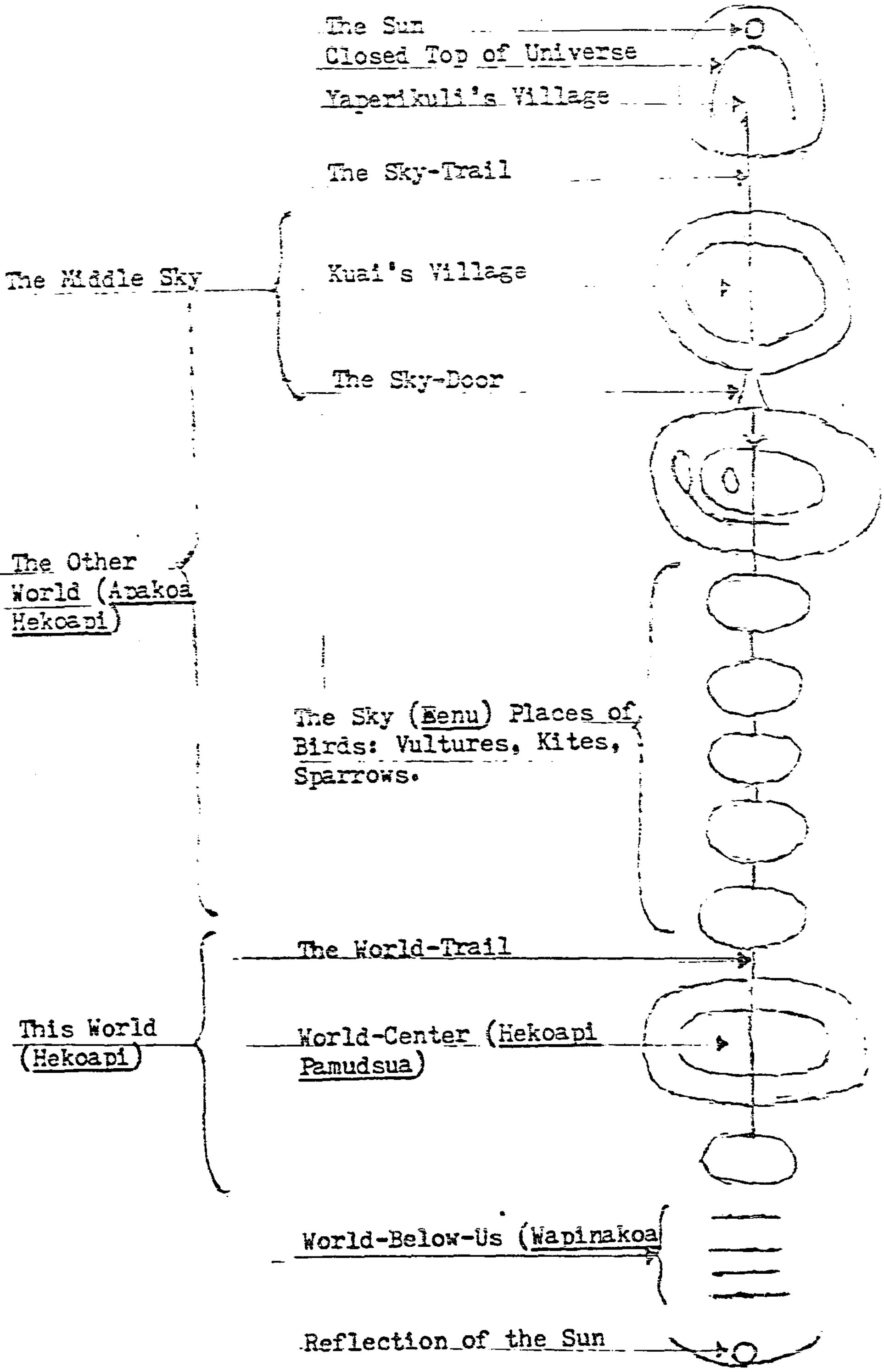
When the drawing was done, one of the shamans folded the paper upwards to make a concave shape, so that the top of the Universe--where the Sun is--could clearly be seen as connected with the bottom where its reflection is. The reflection is like looking into a pool of water. The most important shapes in the universe are drawn like the rings



MAP Showing the rapids and hills in the myth, with some of the main rock inscriptions, related to the myth, at Hipana and Enipan rapids.

At Hipana, among the many rock inscriptions, are several boulders with representations of Amaru. Those in the enclosed space are all on one; next to it is a boulder with numerous indentations, disconnected shapes, said to be Amaru's body. The figure below the enclosed space is also Amaru after the birth of Kuai. The figure below the river line is Kuai, on a boulder facing downriver at the falls immediately below Hipana. There are many other rockholes at Hipana all of which have to do with Kuai.

At Enipan, in 1928, a Brazilian military commander of the Rondon commission copied some of these inscriptions at the rapids. Most of them, he was told, are figures whom "Jurupary (=Kuai) killed, devoured, and vomited up." They are, left to right, top to bottom: a big-bellied monkey, a fish, a frog, a shaman, and another figure.


The Sun
Closed Top of Universe
Yaperikuli's Village
The Sky-Trail
The Middle Sky
Kuai's Village
The Sky-Door
The Other World (Apakoa Hekoapi)
The Sky (Eenu) Places of Birds: Vultures, Kites, Sparrows.
The World-Trail
This World (Hekoapi)
World-Center (Hekoapi Pamudsua)
World-Below-Us (Wapinakoa)
Reflection of the Sun

The Universe

of a long tube and the top of the tube, at least, is closed, like an arch, "like the very top of a knife." The rings are defined by centers and edges or borders. Each ring is, in actuality, a level plane on which people live. On the centers of each plane are villages of people who, we might say, have the greatest living immediacy. The Hohodene, for instance, live on the center of the earth, near Hipana, and all other groups, tribes of people, live around them (and are marked in other drawings as little circles inside the two ellipses of the border). Kuai lives in the center of the Middle-Sky plane, while the souls of deceased people have their houses on the edge. When Kuai descends and ascends, the movement is from the center of the Middle-Sky to the center of this world and back.

The connector(s) from top to bottom is(are) various trails and ways, all of which form one long road through the centers of the planes.

In the myth, beginning with Episode B, Kuai descends and ascends between the earth and sky at will, as though there were open passage and no obstruction between sky and earth until the end of the episode when Kuai returns from Enipan to the sky. In the following episode, the little fly mediates between earth and sky and the passage is made difficult when Kuai traps it inside his house, slamming shut the door on it. The door is the Sky-Door, and it is said to be constantly in motion, opening and shutting, opening and shutting, "like a scissors." The most striking image of connection between earth and sky, however, is after Kuai's burning, when from the burning-place, the paxiuba tree breaks open the earth at Hipana and connects with the sky. The paxiuba tree has a hollow inside, and it is an instance of a *tube* that connects levels of the cosmos.

Now, the holes of the present-day rapids at Hipana were at the base of Kuai's paxiuba and elders today point to them, and trace the ancient connection to the sky. The elder Keroamí, for instance, one day showed me these holes and arched his arm straight up to the sky, explaining with gesture, "Kuai's Umbilicus" (*Kuai L̂iepole*). In the drawing of the cosmos, Kuai's Umbilicus appears as the little hook which comes out of the Sky-Door and connects with the sky-trail. Thus, with reason, one can say that the paxiuba tree, equated with Kuai's Umbilicus, *is* the connection that people have today, in the sacred instruments, with Kuai.

There is one final thing to mention: paxiuba trees in reality have thorns on them. These thorns or treespines give pain to people who come in contact with them; they produce hot, itching sensations. Such treespines or thorns exist on various trees in this world, but they are said to exist above all near one place in the cosmos, the Sky-Door, Kuai's Door, the door to his house. These thorns are known under the generic name of *walamas*.

One afternoon, near dusk, I sat in Kuliriana village with Keramũnhe and his son John on the cleared fields behind the new village they were making. I asked Keramũnhe about these *walamas*: "How did they begin?" No other response could have been given than that which he gave: "*Kuai nékete*," with Kuai. Here, then, is the story of Kuai.

(I have annotated the myth heavily and the notes are found at the end. I chose not to be sparing in the notes so that readers can get a sense of the richness in details which may be added *ad infinitum* to any one of the episodes. The notes seek to explain and give needed ethnographic information. In reading the text, I would suggest two rounds would be the minimum, once without the notes or only brief glances at them, and a second time with more attention to both text and notes.)

THE MYTH OF KUAI: A NARRATION

[Episode A: The Beginning of Kuai]

They begin with Kuai * With Kuai these walamas.
With *Kuai* they are...
These walamas...
One more time for him then (Hmm ?)
It begins *just that way* (It begins...)
They begin this one,
Kuai (yes it is) yes it is.
With him only are they the walamas
(With Kuai) They are with Kuai, it is so.
It begins then it seems...
This Yaperikuli,
Will think to where she is, she Amaru *
His *aunt* * she is it seems.
For.. In the beginning appears his knowing..
But it is his *knowing*
(Yes he does not stay with her) He does not come down to stay with her [1]
This Kuai *
(He began Kuai) He *began* Kuai..
(Yaperikuli's child) Yaperikuli's *child* !
The *Sun* is his father, the sun is, Kuai's father!
But Yaperikuli stays apart..
He eats coca and thinks to where she is,
Well !
His knowing appears and enters in her.
It is not his penis that enters...
He looks *towards her* and quickly below her he comes...
He sees the woman's place of conception.
His knowing feels in her.
After that...
Then they bless his coca Jaguar Yaperikuli (his coca) His coca
Jaguar Yaperikuli.[2]
Kuai *
Kuai Baby * Kuai Baby *
Eeeeeyy her belly grows pregnaaaant, with this Kuai-wápe * [3]
She grooooows and is ready.

[Episode A: The Beginning of Kuai]

They begin with Kuai * With Kuai these walamas.
With Kuai they are...
These walamas...
One more time for him then (Hmm ?)
It begins just that way (It begins...)
They begin this one,
Kuai (yes it is) yes it is.
With him only are they the walamas
(With Kuai) They are with Kuai, it is so.
It begins then it seems...
This Yaperikuli,
Will think to where she is, she Amaru *
His aunt * she is it seems.
For.. In the beginning appears his knowing..
But it is his knowing
(Yes he does not stay with her) He does not come down to stay with her [1]
This Kuai *
(He began Kuai) He began Kuai..
(Yaperikuli's child) Yaperikuli's child !
The Sun is his father, the sun is, Kuai's father!
But Yaperikuli stays apart..
He eats coca and thinks to where she is,
Well !
His knowing appears and enters in her.
It is not his penis that enters...
He looks towards her and quickly below her he comes...
He sees the woman's place of conception.
His knowing feels in her.
After that...
Then they bless his coca Jaguar Yaperikuli (his coca) His coca
Jaguar Yaperikuli.[2]
Kuai *
Kuai Baby * Kuai Baby *
Eeeeeyy her belly grows pregnaaaant, with this Kuai-wắpe * [3]
She groooows and is ready.

She; that one; is not like those women *
They; of today..
There is nothing of her vagina it seems...
Is there no way how (Bad for her) bad for her, is there no way how Kuai
would be born from her ??
He goes and gets patawa palmwood spines.
Difficult it is to open their vaginas with it ! *
Then... He knows it seems, they knew surely.. how it is.
He takes its spines and puts them on her vagina.. *
PA !! THA !!!
Dead she is ! (His mother) his mother,
Dead their aunt[4]
Out went Kuai (Kuai-wǎpe) Kuai-wǎpe.
He takes drink and sucks out then,
Pushing this sickness away from her.[5]
She comes back revived; "Where is my son?" She says; she wanted it.
Then they carry him there..
To ni-Amaru another one.[6]
From many he drinks ?
No, there is but one,
A small sloth's milk.
That one it is her son ? No, there is but one,
She knew, it seems (She knows).
Thus it happens * When he sends Kuai away from her his mother *...
Is there no way how he works ???
There is no way how he works then,
Here, it seems then (yes) in the world. *
His arse goes: "MOOOOO !" His arse.
He urinates a little: "Tsatsatsa.. Tseytsemtseytsem" he says.
Then with it he cries:
"EeeteytumdeeeeNũpitǎ'mtǎ'mdeee Nũpitǎ'mtǎ'mdee" he says.[7]
"Aaah ! No" Not how he wished [Narrator's hands whisk one over the
other up to the sky] He goes, he makes him (He makes him go).
His father's soul. * The Sun's soul. *
The last.*[8]

[Episode 3: Kuai Initiates the Children. First Part: Kuai Meets the Children and Restricts Them.]

So it went.. Yaperikuli lives on... 1.65.
Like so, like sooooo..... [9]
There are then another:
Mālinali-child *
Ĥenakaíwa *
Kĕrawídzūna * 1.70.
Three *
They are the knowing-ones * [10]
A little one is another *
Four *
They are the knowing-ones. * 1.75.
They catch bumblebees,
They put them in an earth-pot. *
They catch wasps,
They put them in another one. *
Their Kuai-te things. * [11] 1.80.
They tie them together with string,
They come [stomping their feet] taỳntaỳntaỳn, the pots go "Heeeeee"
    Thus comes their song. *
The bees come out,
They put them back inside. *
In the same way, the other one. * 1.85.
Those ones, the bumblebees. *
HE WAS WATCHING THEM THERE !
(This Kuai) This Kuai watches over there...
A dance round they make as he watches them, then he comes to them. *
Here, they make whips * Whips. 1.90.
(Here the children) Here the children.
The bumblebees sing, as they strike their legs: pa ! pa ! The other one,
    Pa !
(This Kuai-kŏ of theirs) This Kuai-kĕ of theirs,
This was nonsense.
As Kuai was watching, then he comes to them * 1.95.

He descends to them there, he comes to them, they see him there...
A big white man. *
A white man they see.
"Hey, how are you "
(They don't know Kuai) They don't know Kuai.
"Is Yaperikuli here ?" he says *
"He's gone away." "Where to ?" "Ah, he's gone." "Ah, so it is."
"What are you working on ?" he says *
No answer.
"What are those over there ?" he says
"Our Kuai-te there"
"Where ?" "There."
"That over there is our Kuai-tse."
"Mmm, I don't know."
Then they come, tàyntàyntàyn, the pots go: "$\overline{\text{Heeeeee}}$" Up and back down in...
The other one goes, tàyntàyntàyn, "$\overline{\text{Heeeeee}}$" Up and back down in.
"Aah this is nonsense !!" he says, "Noonsense !!"
"I am Kuai !" he says, "I am Kuai", he says, "I am"
"Can it be !" they say, "Truly ?"
"Truuly, I am Kuai "
He looks at those things.
"Sing then your song, you," they say (say to him)
"You are restricted with me." he says,
"Three dry seasons..
"Two dry seasoms well, on the third it will be,
"You may eat pepper" * he says to them.
"Will you be able to ?" "We can" "Aah so it is, good."
Where is our father ?
Straight above is the sun (straight above) the sun does not move.
"Where is Yaperikuli now, he is staying away," he says.
"Sing for us to hear you," they say to him.
"Yes so it seems..
"Well you will stay restricted with me."
The song of the Maliawali: [12]
"TSEYtsemtseytsemtseytsemtseytsemtseytsemtseytsemtseytsemtseytsem..."

The song of the Walladoa:

"Eeten-te'n-te'n-yanatawatawadee Yanatawatawadee'n" he sings.

This one, then, Halu also:

"Wawawawawawawawawawa Te'n-te'n-te'n Te'n-te'nte'n-te'n wawawawawa." That's all.

This one, then, the Unspoken One: 1.135.

"Hmmmmmmmmmmm Hmmmmmmmmmmm Hmmmmmmmmmm"

That's all * That's all.

On. "Now" Now good there was then,

This he has, his one food. 13

"You will sniff it," he says. 1.140.

He gives them to sniff [sniffs] He sniffs one and gives, to another he gives, another he gives, another he gives, four.

On...

"Do not tell Yaperikuli !" he says (Do not tell Yaperikuli)

"Do not tell Yaperikuli..

"One day I stay then tomorrow, the following day I come" he says * 14

"Aah so it is." 1.145.

He leaves them *

They stay.. And with the songs they whip truly, those whips go with it * With him ! (Yes that is knowing) "Whip with it !" he says to them. They whipped.. The Tarira sings.. (His fruits they are) His fruits they are ! 15 1.150.

He leaves them...

[Episode B, Second Part: Kuai's Second Visit and Yaperikuli's Preparation of the House of Initiation.]

The next day they stay * They stay.

The following day.. On, his mark had come.

The sun goes up...

Straight up is that sun ! 1.155.

Uuuup goes the day.

They look up to the sky: "Phew, [Whispers]

"Coming to us..

"Kuai, Kuai comes to us.."

(They knew) They knew. 1.160.

He arriiiives to their patio: "You are Kuai ?" "Yes" "You Kuai ?"

"Yes" "You... [16]
"Is Yaperikuli here ?" "He's gone away."
"Ah so it is."
The same songs. The same songs *
The same, Maliawa, Waliadoa, Halu,
The song then, of the Unspoken One * The stationary one. [17]
"Ah so it seems, thanks."
He stays with them from the noon-sun until a little one hour later...
And leaves them * He leaves...
Just like so *
Yaperikuli arrives then,
As he does he eats with them, "Come we eat !" he says, "Come we eat"
They don't come to him ! They forget * they play.
They don't drink patchiaka [Refreshment, farinha and water]
He awaits the next day, the same thing happens *
"Pah, what is it now they see him, surely it is so they see him,"
thus he says,
(Says this Yaperikuli) Yaperikuli.
"Oh, Now I go, I will go before him," he says, "Following him the patron." [18]
He went.
Like so [flying] fioooooo as Yaperikuli does, he goes tricking them,
They follow down there, those he summons after them, the motheeerss..
There to the riverbank. *
Like so he quickly returns Yaperikuli, fshiu..
He returns inside the house and there he stays with his tobacco.
Three of them had seen *
Meaning four of them, he would know for them.
(Know for them this Yaperikuli) Yaperikuli.
The children stay there, they see their mothers, and soon return.
They retuuuurn and arrive. At the House-door.
There they stay.
Up there is the sun. [Close to noon]
"Where is Kuai now ?" they say.
He hears Kuai coming, Yaperikuli * for there he stays.
"Where is Kuai now ?" they say.
Soon truly it will be !" he says.

"Paaaah ! Kuai it seems they see him," he says,
"How it is !"   [With irritation, upset in voice]
They stay, they tie up their whips *
They had made.
Straight up is that sun..On, Uuuuup he comes and lands !
Then he comes to them *
"Truly will Kuai come up," he says.
"Coming to us..Yes, yes.."   [Excited]
Yaperikuli stays apart,
He doesn't stay like so it seems * [19]
They don't remember to come up to see (They forget) they forget !
He comes to them..
Eeey arrives: "How are you," he says,
"Kuai you are" "Yes" "You Kuai" "Yes" "You Kuai" "Yes"
He enters then fiooooo and goes to stay at the center-place.
(This Kuai) Kuai.
"Is Yaperikuli here ?" he says.
"He's gone away"
"Can it be !" he says
He knows it seems !
Then suddenly he jumps down there (Yaperikuli)
Yaperikuli.. TCHIAWWTSUPKUUU !!! He landed.
"HOW ARE YOU !" he says
"WHO ARE YOU !"
"I myself, am Kuai," he says.
"IT IS KUAI you are" "Yes Kuai I am."
"Aah so it is."
"NOW, HOW IS IT"
"No, I myself am good" * he says,
"When you have stayed restricted for two dry seasons, on the third
    you may eat pepper, you may eat all fish" he says
"Yes it is now," he says,
"They have already seen, they have seen me, those children." he says.
"How then ?" he says, "How is it that you live ?"
"I myself am good " * he says,
"They gather patawa..

"They gather all tree-fruits," he says,
"Patawa, ibacába, assaí, ucuquí, uacú, jápura *.. [20]
"Everyone of those tree-fruits," he says, "So it is."
"Ah so it is, thanks."
"On.. Sing for us to hear you." he says
"Yes, so it seems, you have already seen me."
Those same ones: "Tseytsemtseytsemtseytsem" Walladoa: "Heheehee" Everyone
    of them truly ! (All of them !) Already altogether: "HHHHIIIIHHHH !!!!"
    [Loud, deep roar]...
He went....
On..
"Ah, so it is..
"Thanks," he says.
Already he returned.
"You will remind your women to get manioc, then I will come to summon,"
    he says. [21]
(This, his coming-to-summon) His-coming-to-summon.

[Episode B, Third Part: Kuai Summons the Children]

They get manioc.
They get manioc,
They make beer,
They are ready..
The second dry season it is and not yet the third, he descends to them.
They hear in the sky: "HEEEEEE HEEEEEE" (Rain clouds appear) Rain
    clouds appear.
A bit closer..
A bit closer..
A bit closer..
A bit closer..
Just like now he descends *
Like now, near cinco horas nearby by a tiny bit..
He arrived. * [22]
On..
The mothers are away,
Those Amarũs. *

On..

He makes them stay and fills them with..

He summons them:"*HIHIHIHIHIHI*.." The Song of Kuai: "*HIHIHIHIHIHI*.."

How is it going to be !?? (How) *How* is it going to be ?? [23]

The day ends. *

The night he stays with them.. 'Til morning !

That was all, he *stayed.*

He was watching, this Yaperikuli, it was not how he wishes it, he doesn't send him away.. *

He was *watching.* [24]

He stays with him..

He gathers tree-fruit with them.. *

Every tree-fruit ! *

He eats the same. *

He goes to climb fruit trees for them.

Two dry seasons have gone, *soon* following they will end their restrictions. *

On the *third*.. Then truly it was he ate them there at Hīpana. * [25]

He goes..To Enīpan. *

In the beginning he takes them and climbs that uacú tree.. For then.. He eats those people. *

He goes to Hipana and ascends for them the uacú.. *

He would finish gathering uacú and retuuurn,.. then he would return to blow spells for them to eat pepper * *Yes* it *would* be so.. *

But, not like so. *

He ascends the uacú, straight up is the sun..

At the foot of the tree are the children. *

A fire is there (there is) it is there.

"Pah, they are good to eat." they say. *

They roast it.

They roast uacú..

On.

They eat. *

They eat, three of them do. *

The one little one does not eat with them.

On..

The uacú smoke arises to him..
Aaaaaaaaa it meets him up there..
(This Kuai) Kuai.
He was breaking open the uacú nuts..
Only he was breaking them ! * [26]
Here where his summons is, there is his bone. *
As always ! (Always, always !)
Only he it seems carries his bone !
On...
Then it is, the smoke rises, Kuai smells..
Then the great song: [Falsetto]
"TSEEYtsemtseytsemtseytsemtseytsemtseytsemtseytsemtseytsemtseytsem...
"Oh, why do you eat my flesh roast pacu fish Malinaliene, you eat my flesh roast pacu" [Alto] .. He turns about and lays down...
THE GREAT SONG COMES: "HIHIHIHIHIHIHIHIHIHIHIHIHI..TSUIUIUIUIUIUIUIUIUIUI..
[Kuai's spit falls]
ALL OF HIS BODY LIKE SO !!!! [27]
Then it was he comes back down and reviliilves, he comes down the tree..
A great rain then cooooomes, "Rain comes to us !" he says.
He opens then his mouth, a huge rock cave it becomes like so !
"COME ! IN HERE !" he says.
They enter those three.
His mouth is coming together then Pah ! he closes an eye,
"He closed an eye !" Ptt, Tain ! * [Hands slap together; Kuai's mouth closes]
He ate them, he ate them..
Malinali,
Menakuiwa,
Kerawidzũna. *
These three. *
The one little one was well. *
He ate them * Kuai ate them. * [28]
He returns with them..
To Enîpan * Enîpan *
Like now [late afternoon]
He vomits them out. *
Once more his song: "HEEEEEE HEEEEEE HEEEEEE" Dead, that's all.
Once again: "HEEEEEE HEEEEEE HEEEEEE" Dead.

Like so it was.
Already he went * Truly he went away.
(Away from Yaperikuli) Away from Yaperikuli. [29]
Yaperikuli stayed apart,
He arrives then but hears..
NO ONE ??
"How has it been now ??" he says.
And then he hears in the distance: "HHHHHH HHHHHH" "Aaaaahn !" [30]
He goes inside the house and comes to see, comes out to see...
This bloody-stuff as it lay (this eaten flesh)
Kalinali-child,*
Ĥenakuiwa-dzarū,*
Kerawidzāna-wîfe. *
"Hey, how is it ?" "Oh already Kuai ate them." "Aah don't tell me," he
says, "there lives but one !"
He had gone * He had gone. [31]

[Episode C: The End of Kuai's Initiation and the Beginning of the Sacred Instruments. First Part: Yaperikuli Requests Kuai to Return and Bless Their Food]

Thus it went on...
He lives on like so..
He stays for a looong time, on..
"Now.. I would like to eat," he says.
Only he (This Yaperikuli),
Yaperikuli, and with him the little one,
The one-not-lost.
Thus he makes images of those then...
His eaten-flesh. * [32]
Standing on some molongó wood,
Well-done !
He makes their headdresses.
He makes their ornaments that they carry
On, "Now you go, you tell him," he says to Kalimǎtū *
He scrapes off then, white maggots. * [33]
"That will be what you give to him."

It carries it and carries it...
There into the sky ! *
As it enters inside there, "Are you there Kuai ?" It says .
Kuai lets it in and then, TAYNNNNNN !! He traps it inside with him...
THROWS it out !! [34]
He opens up and threw it down * Threw it (what it carried) what it carried.
He comes back to look descending a little..Nothing is wrong.
Yaperikuli blows out tobacco: Fhhuuuhfff..
That little one lies down..
So tiny is the belly of Kalinătū !
"Ah not there, so it seems."
He looked for another Kalinǎtū, a smaller one *
"You go it seems." "Ah yes"
He gives to it that same, *
The same white maggots. *
Thus it goes with it...
Theeere to the same place. *
"You there Kuai ?" It says. *
"Yes" He looks out and then, TAYNN !! Looks out a little bit,
A little bit it seems.
"A message for you from Yaperikuli, you it seems will bless his food
for henceforwards." It says to him.
He opens his door,
Jumps out and gobbles up the maggots, "This here is my heart" *
"My bitter-stuff." * [35]
"You it seems blow spells on his food,
"As your payment." It says.
"Well * they are there..
"From your summons, where he sets them alive,
"With their headdresses." [36]
"Aah so it seems."
"So it seems, they have already suffered." He says.. *
"Now it will be, there you will make beer." He says,
"One day, then tomorrow, and the next day I will descend. " He says.
It returns in descent, "Ah so it seems."
He said 'yes' and knows what will be, "Ah so it seems." [37]

[Episode C, Part Two: The Festival]

They make beer. *

They are ready, *

Then from the sky, *

Uuuup, noow the sun is straight above. *

The Song *

Then: "HEEEEEEEE HEEEEEEEE"

Soon after he gets closer. *

A little later closer, *

Then closer, *

Ooooh soon closer.. That's all..

Shortly after he descends * HUUUTSUKU !!

"Hey"

"I have wanted you," he says.

"To blow spells so they may eat pepper. Already they have suffered those children." He says.

"Where then are those things to blow spells with." He opens the door.

"Ah so it seems, good. "

Soon after he stays with them...

He takes up his Kalīdzámai * Kalídzámai. [38]

Then it was he blew spells, *

He blew spells.

Only he that one Kuai (Only he) Only he.

Yaperikuli listens to him * Ēri * Dzūli * Three *

This one among them Kuai, *

Four Four.

He blessed...

'Til Morning !!

He blesses...

He blesses,

A round he blesses, as many times he sings and dances. *

Then they listen to him.

He sings only he that one Kuai *:

"Pimālie Pimālie Pimālie
With pain came our owner Our Owner's House-door Pimāliemālie
With pain came our owner With pain came our owner Newly-born
they soon will be Pimāliemālie." He says * [39]

He dances and sings. *

He sings three short times and a round..

That same one he blesses:

"Dzūledzūledzúle Dzūledzūledzúle Dzūledzūledzúledzúle "
So he blesses. [40]

All night...

Until Morning !!

The day appears..

As always he stays. *

A round he blesses, as many he sings and dances.

He blesses.

A round of it, as many he sings and dances.

Drunk he becomes !

Until..."The dawn comes to us, thus will be my songs." He says.

"Pimāliemālie
A round A round he whips with his whips Goes our Owner
Pimāliemālie Pimāliemālie." He says.

Only he that one Kuai (Only he) Only he that one KUAI.

He blesses among them.. Until morning !!

Finished with his blessing among them..

Then he distributes food to them. *

He distributes food to them and when ready, he gives them to eat pepper and when done....

On, "Now..

"There is no way for you to kill me." He knows it seems he was waiting.

(Yaperikuli waits to kill) Yaperikuli waits to kill.

"Now as for me, you cannot kill me." He says *

"The machete I am, the axe I am , the shotgun I am, treewood I am, every poison-arrow I am. "

"No, no way comes," he says, "you cannot kill them.."

"ONE THING FOR SURE ONLY FIRE.. with its flames can you kill." he says.

"So it is.. Good."

Thus he says, only he that one (only he)

There being nothing else to kill with, they don't know what else. l.460.

His body is all those trees, those machetes, axes, everyone...

His body ! *

"Ah so it is."

He dances with him..

He dances with him.. * l.465.

"Sing for me to hear," he says. Yaperikuli sings and dances, then lies down a bit.

Up there is the sun. [About 11 a.m.]

Yaperikuli dances, a round.

"As are those Kuai-songs, sing one more time." He says.

"Ah yes it seems" l.470.

"Pimāliemālie
High up it comes High up it goes ~~the~~ sun Pimāliemālie
Pimāliemālie Pimāliemālie
High up it goes High up is the sun Pimāliemālie Pimāliemālie."
He says.

Up there is the sun: l.475.

"Soon soon he goes Soon soon he goes our owner Kūyūlianū
Kūlianu goes Pimāliemālie." He says. [41]

They circle around like so.. They circle around that firewood he brings together * Brings together firewood..

Yaperikuli pushes Kuai in: PA !!!

HHHIISSSHHHEEEEE-in-the-middle-of-the-fire-of-theirs.. l.480.

HHHIIIIIIIIISHI !!!!.

PA ! A round it burns ! He gets trees..

Those brazilwood: HHIIISHI !!

Blackwood: HHIIIIIISHI !!

This, then, Uacaricoara: HHIIISHI !! [42] l.485.

TTZZT"T'T'T'T'T'T'T.....

He left venom, Pat't't'

(Kuai) Kuai

His fur, Pat't't', "My sickness-giving it will be" * he says. [43]

Cooohh.. Dead ! Baaaaaaaaaa... l.490.

So it was....... [Narrator's son chuckles.]

"HEEEEEEEEE HEEEEEEEEE." (This one does not die.)

That was the way !! (That's the way !)

His father's soul !! (Yes)

That's truly all !! (The last !!) The last !! (Until today !!) Until today !!

We did not see those people.

After this then, he says with his pushing-in,

"Oh you come sit and watch here," he says, "here my burning-place,"
he says, for that which is with his burning it seems.

He would kill as his payment.

This then..

The Kuai-source of today.[44]

[Episode C., Part Three: The Paxiuba Tree and the Sacred Instruments]

Oh... Then he quickly left from there.

On.. At the late afternoon sun, he goes to sit and watch.

He waits a little, he knows how it is it seems *, remembers surely. *

Out came from there the paxiuba *

It breaks open faaaaarr up ! Onto the sky. *

It cuts: TsskPOOOOWWWW !! Far up there. From his anus. *[45]

PoooWWWW !! Onto the sky !!

Yaperikuli sits by its roots, Tsak !

Like so little it seems, PshhhhpppPAWWWW ! [Shows small aperture with hand]

POWWWW ! It shot up.

"Hey so it seems, good." [Rubs hands together, gesture of satisfaction]

On..

In the same way also.

He looks for what goes with it the treebark; and the vine that goes
with it, its bindings.[46]

There is no way how he might look for..

He doesn't know how..

He shows them to cut, the paca, agouti, agoutiwaya, but they can't (no)
they can't...

Cuatipuru.. And a smaller one.

They can't; they cannot.

He looks for.. the Tăkaīro * Tákaīro it is * Tăkaīro.[47]

Tǎkaīro cuts the paxiuba up..

:::::::::::::::::::::::::::::: [Motion of arm going around up and up]

Onto the sky !! *

On the sky.

There at Hipana it ascends.

Those Maliawa, two of them (These are what we have today),

Waliadoa, three [Spoken quietly]

Hălū, two also,

Inambú, two also,

Those Tucano, two also,

Those 'Hee hee', those ones, two also.

All of them. [48]

It is not how he wishes, he does not wish it that way it seems...

He would break it, then it falls and it would kill,

(It would kill Yaperikuli) It would kill Yaperikuli as his payment, it seems..

(He wanted to kill) He knows it..

No way how to look for..no... [49]

On, "You go it seems," he says to the painted-face woodpecker. *

"Yes,yes I can do it," it says

Woodpecker will break it..

There on the middle..

It flies straight onto the wrapping: TAKKK !!! Its cuttings break apart..

Tk ! All the way up: KYYYEEEEIUIUIUIUIUIU...

It lies down.

Kuai * Kuai (Kuai-wǎpe) Kuai-wápe. [50]

A tree resin for its wrappings, *

An oil from fish (Yes),

Another resin also (Yes).

On..

It doesn't play.

None of them play, with force he blows. *

No way how !

He looks for then,

The armadillo. *

It blows one, it tries, it blows so little from its mouth.. No ? [Chuckles]

Wariri tries * The same way that one.

"Ah yes."
There, then, he blows her feathers..
The Harpy Kamathawa's feathers. * [51]
They go with it also. *
He ties them to where they lay like so the Maliawa,
T'haaa, He ties them to where they lay, they with Kuai.
He gets those white hawk feathers..
He goes to play like so: "HAAWHAheeheeheeheeheetseytsemtseytsemtseytsem-
tseytsem....."
(The Song of them only) The song of them only.

[Episode D: Amaru and the Women Take Away Kuai and Initiate Their Youngest Sister. First Part: Amaru Takes Kuai and Begins the Initiation.]

Thus it went on..
Like so, like so, like so, like sooooooooo...
On.
They the mothers, they wanted them it seems (They wanted them)!
This one, Kuai's mother,
Those Amarus.
On.
"Now...
"Thus it will be at dusk I give the suds-making wood there," he says *
this Yaperikuli. For his son's penis. * [52]
"There I give suds-making wood,
"Bathe with it tonight." He says. *
They heard this * it seems, the mothers. *
At night they go.. To wheeeere the stream is. [53]
"Thus he gives suds-wood there, let's go, we go take it before him."
They say... They run. [Spoken in whispers]
Then straight to Kuai. *
They see and put on the ornaments..
They see and find Kuai.. Eaah! They take it up.
Tk' They gather up what was there, that go with it, that I explained,
he blows her.. *
They take them and want to blow: "Aaahffffffffff" Not so: "Tseytsem-

tseytsentseytsen" Waliadoa: "HÌHÌHÌHÌHÌ.."

Oouut he runs, turns about and looks,

He runs to see.. There they are !! "Aaaghh !! Now it is !!"

Tk' "TUUUPÁ !!" He runs after them !

Heey, they see him come and turn him back; then it entered those what he said, the walamas..* (Thus began the walamas) Yess.

They turn him back: "Aatsükutsükutsükutsüku ..." It entered the poison-arrows, the walamas.[54]

"Aaahh." There is no way how..

That's truly all they took it. *

(No way how) No way how Yaperikuli could get it, for..

Such a noise they made...

But the women come with it,

They fled with it...

This is where he follows them upstream (Right here this stream).[55]

There onto the hill (It seems that his mother took him right here, this stream).

There, onto the hill..

Motǐpan (Motǐpan)

Yes Motǐpan (It seems that there is a city there, at that place of the mother of Kuai. There are many hills there with gold...)

There they make their settlement-fence.

That's all, he passes all the way up to them and arrives.

For.. Already it happened, she menstruated, she their youngest sister..

But, they blew spells on her food (the youngest sister).[56]

On, they blew spells on her food there (There at Motǐpan) Motǐpan.

With anger he was watching, Yaperikuli,

His enemy, with anger he watched,

With the very one Kuai.

He goes...

With them it seems he goes to their settlement-fence, "That will be our Blessing-house," they say.

"Hey, so it seems."

[Episode D., Part Two: Yaperikuli Prepares for War.]

On, then he returns downstream..

He would make war on them truly.

He descends to Tū́nui * To Tū́nui, 57
He goes to get poison-darts. *
With grandfather Kắthiwa * With Kắthiwa.
That one has teyú poison, Kắthiwa's poison-darts, always his teyú
    poison, Yaperikuli comes... Tayn !
He told those ones, those birds, that was it would be *, to make war-things.
At Tū́nui * 1.621.
He goes to make poison-darts. *
"What do you want for my taking poison-darts, grandfather," he says,
    this Yaperikuli.
"Why do you have it ?" He says.
"I want to kill those Amaru, already they have taken from me kuai." He says.
(Yaperikuli like so speaks) Yaperikuli like so speaks. 1.626.
"Ah so it seems."
"Now you give me all the baskets of poison-darts." he says. *
"No, this is bad." He says. *
"Now I give you one basket, not good that one, it kills, it has killed
    only it has." He says, 1.630.
"Now I give you only one, this half of it." He says.
"Ah so it seems."
"Let's go we bring together our blowguns." He says,
"Like so it will be," he says.
First shoots Kā́thiwa, Tchiaaaaww... 1.635.
It strikes inside the earth, PAAA !!!
Tk ! The dart cuts through, KKKKhhhyālālālālālālātsūtsūtsūtsū...
He takes up his gun Yaperikuli, and shoots there, onto the sky-door,
    just one arrow:
Hūtŭpsīhūtŭpsīhūtŭpsīhūtŭpsīhūtŭpsīhūtŭpsīhūtŭpsīhūtŭpsī... 58
Aaaaaaaaaaa.. Dead ! Good ! 1.640.
"Ah you will be ready !" "We can for sure! "
On, "You go, go well you. " He says.
He takes with him everyone of those animals, those his kin. *
Agouti, agoûtiwaya, paca, everyone of those animals, those birds. * 1.645.
Ni-Amaru, the stingray *
They ascend...
They arrive * Just like now * [5 p.m.]

They transform into winterfrogs: "Okoekoe Okoekoe,"
"Ōkóekóe Ōkòekòe Ōkóekóe Ōkòekòe Ōkóe..:" That's Yaperikuli ! [59]
They were made happy to see those (Those spell=blowing-things) Spell-Blowing-things.
They go, "Hihihihihihihi.."
On..

[Episode D., Part Three: The End of Initiation and the War]

A little bit later then, Ẽdzamai comes out for them.
They bless the womens' food..
The woman's, their youngest sister's food it seems.
It runs out a little one then..
A Măkūlītĕtĕ out and onto a breadbasket. * [60]
With Êri. *
They bless those women...
Until moooorning ! *
It burrows among them, the grandfather tatú; the tatú burrows through the earth.. [61]
It comes like so.. Like so it goes.. Into the house. * [Hand motion, traces the path of the armadillo.]
Then the women are there on their patio..
At a fish-trap Yaperikuli and others stay it seems..
"It is that they know," he says, "A little bit after they've distributed the food, let's go."
Soon after they had done the blessing, and after they had done the distributing, he runs out....
"HOW NOW GRANDFATHER ?!! " He says.
"You're ready ?" "Yes I'm ready" "Let's go we go." Then truly they entered the war...
...... [Narrator's arms start going back and forth]
TK !. With them the Armadillo: HHAAAWWWWTAWWW !!! Breaks into there, onto the patio.. *
AAAAAAA-They-run-and-go-inside-the-House... *
They turn them back with Kuai: Aaatsŭkŭtsŭkŭtsŭkŭtsŭkŭ (Kuai turns them back)..

They run to the fence... [Narrator's stick taps the ground quickly, the chase.]

They killed... 1.675.

They take away from them !! They take away !!

They take away from them Kuai * She takes it back from him...

.... [Arms pumping back and forth, pushing and shoving, taking away]

He runs...

They killed and killed... He cannot look at the women ! He throws her up to the sky... PIHHHHHHHHH.... TCHIALEHEEEEEEEEE [Arm shoots up]

Dead.. 1.681.

Another of them.. Tk... She takes one of them, puts it in her vagina she does...

He kills her thus: MŪKŪKŪM !! The Inambú-flute. *

Another runs away, tǐtǐtǐtǐtǐ, he sees and he chases after, tǐtǐtǐtǐtǐ, he gets them, tsāāa, they take away.

TIH !! He finished off 1.685.

All of them, they take away.

She is the woman of here (Amaru).

On... Already they killed... Pahhlee !! [Hands slap together]

He returns and throws that one, the woodpecker [62]

He throws her up.. 1.690.

To the black sky.

He throws her that one..

To where the sun enters.

He throws her that one..

To the red sky. 1.695.

He throws her that one..

To the yellow sky.

That's all like so, four.

He throws one, then another, then another, and another..

Dead * dead... (Already he killed them) Already he killed them... 1.700.

That's, that's all * that's all.

Thus he began Kuai.

Then........

[Episode D., Part Four: Yaperikuli Tests the Womens' Knowing and Completes the Sacred Instruments.]

Taaaaaa a long time later,
He turns around the hearts of those womeeeeen, like so..
They don't know how *
Awhile later, he goes to try them. *
With him, they go to try them, those his kin. *
"You go try her, If her knowing is abandoned," he says.
They go to try them, then they go: "HEE HEE HEE HEE."
"Oh Kuai. Kuai. We see Kuai."
He comes back to see her: "How is this Kuai ?? How is this Kuai ??"" He says, *
"HEY this Kuai ." She blows her hair,
"KUai ? How is it ?" She goes to think..
"KUAI ? Kuai ?..
"I don't know.. How truly is it ?
"I don't know." She says.
"She doesn't know now," he says.
"Kuai burns," he says, "Yes, you see Kuai truly. "
They come back and go the same way..
"HĬHĬHĬ."
They flee from it.
So it is nearly done (It is nearly done) It is nearly done.
Until...
The song of the paca, * [63]
Its furcoat he cuts and shows the paca's fur.
Then the Tarira with a shell of hair he shows; the uaracú he shows.
All of these Maliawa, the Wariri, the Wariri hair.
Waliadoa, a woman's hair he cuts, a woman it is. *
"Ah truly it seems so," then do they say so. *
It seems so, truly it seems so, people it seems." They say, *
"May take them and play (They play) They play."
Until.............
When ending his living it seems here .....
He gave it, it seems.. For today (For today) For today....
(Until today) Until today.

Untiiiiiilll, he goes awaaaaaaaaayyy..

Then truly it was he went away Yaperikuli * Went away truly, yes it was.

He looked for people as I explained it, he made ready us people..

That's all it seems then he went away this Yaperikuli, of the Ēnǎwi-nai, it is so.[65]

So went Kuai. 1.740.

That's all * That's all * That's all .

Notes

[1] The conception of Kuai is a spiritual one. Kuai is conceived by Yaperikuli's knowing which comes from him, falls on, and penetrates Amaru. Conception is not by sexual intercourse. Amaru and Yaperikuli are in separate places when Y. thinks to (Liapienta) Amaru. The sense of 'thinking to' is similar to the way shamans' souls and knowing leave their bodies and travel to other places when they, for instance, sing spells.

[2] 'Blessed' (Naiyápa)is more descriptively 'blow spells on,' but many people translated it as 'benzer.' (Port., bless). The coca has a special quality which is indicated in the suffix -kay̆ri on coca (hipǎtū-) The suffix is used only in the language of spells and means that the substance has been shamanized. The title 'Jaguar Yaperikuli' is also a shaman's title, meaning 'the highest in the cosmos.'

[3] Kuai-wǎpe: the suffix has two senses. First, as 'the original ones.' In other myths we find such uses as 'the first ancestors', the first person who dies, etc. Secondly, it is collective, meaning 'all the things of:' In other myths, it refers to 'all the original fish-poison plants.' Here it is all the things of Kuai which make up the collective being. Kuai-wǎpe is mentioned only once more in this myth to refer to all the original sacred flutes and trumpets which are known as 'Kuai.'

[4] Yaperikuli breaks into Amaru with the patawá (Oenocarpus Batawa Mart.) spines. Other narrators mention different things which Y. can use, but all of them are characterised by sharp cutting points: aracú and jacundá fish, for example, bore a hole into Amaru. In the version which Keroami spoke, Y. does the following: He places his hands over the crown of his head (its point) forming an open crown mark which Keroami showed by forming an open semi-diamond shape with his joined hands. Y. places this mark over where A.'s vagina is to be. This crown is the location of Y.'s 'knowing', a very shamanistic act.

[5] Acts of shamanism to cure or revive a sick person. Characters in the myths 'die' but can later be revived. The Kuai myth more than any other treats death and revival as central concerns.

[6] In lines 46-53, Kuai is sent away from his natural mother to a forest tree-sloth who nurtures Kuai. Kuai's natural mother knew they took Kuai from her. The prefix on ni-Amaru refers to two animals in the animal world--this sloth and later a stingray fish (also known as Dákắthă, in Baniwa). In all but this episode and the last, the character of Amaru refers to a group of women called 'the Amarus' (Amaru-nai), or 'the women.' (Īnắma-nai).

[7] Keramunhe sings these Kuai-songs. Kuai's body begins to make song soon after birth. The first song is a single high-pitched note, and is the song of a little dove. The second begins with three short spurts, possibly like the noise which a dance-rattle makes. It is followed by the first Maliawa birdsong : a high-pitched, almost falsetto. The third is a melody sung in medium register. The word "Nũpita'm.." possibly means 'my bath' for it is said that Kuai's tears are rain and his bath-water.

[8] The East (Pikèteme) means: 'he goes away and does not return for a long time.' Y. sends Kuai to the sky where he grows up as a spirit, 'his father's soul.' Some narrators say that Kuai was already a 'little man' by this time, for Y. had sent him to live with the forest-spirits awhile before going to the sky.

[9] Lines 65-6 are ways for expressing the passage of a long time. As spoken, the two expressions in the first line are short, clipped phrases; the second line is a repetition of phrases and the final vowel is lengthened as the narrator's voice rises in pitch. Finally, it fades into a pause before the action begins again.

[10] 'The Knowing-Ones' means that they are children being raised and learning. The term is used especially for children around an age when they are considered ready for initiation . For boys, about 6-10. The three named children are older than the fourth one. The kin relationship among them is that of 'brothers'. Their relationship to Yaperikuli is as 'younger brother's children', or, some say, 'grandchildren', or 'his children'.

[11] 'Kuai-te things', that is, play-instruments with which the children try to make Kuai-song. The earth-pots (akhe in Baniwa; camotí in lingua geral) are usually used as containers of water or beer. Some narrators mentioned that this episode begins as Kuai's urine is falling down from the sky. Around the stream, large red bumblebees (Mũne)are flying and the children catch them. They tie the legs of the bees together with string and let them buzz in and out of the pots. The suffix on Kuai-te (and later Kuai-ke)suggest childrens' games. Most narrators would say 'they play Kuai'. The instruments are imaginary ones, but not real Kuai-song.

[12] Keramunhe sings the four songs. My inflection marks over the songs show only how each is sung in a distinctive pattern of rising and

[12] (cont.) falling notes. The fourth song is a constant, deeply resounding note. As to the significance of the songs, the first three are from the three fingers on Kuai's right hand. Maliawa is always sung in a high, falsetto voice, being the song of a heron. Waliadoa ('Young Sister') alternates between low and high pitch (I am not sure of the translation of the word 'Yamatawa'). Halu (White Monkey) cries a song which alternates starting with a high pitch, then descending on the scale, then returning up. Jaguar Bone is the roar of a large jaguar.

[13] Refers to the Japurá fruit (Voquisaceas Erisma Japura Sp.) , which the children are given to sniff, to stave off hunger during the fast. Japura fruit is frequently used in real life to temper fish.

[14] This phrasing of days which pass before Kuai's return is a formal statement. It is the way to mark time before the first day of a dance-festival, or a ritual of initiation.

[15] Lines 148-50 are an emphatic afterthought about Kuai's songs. Kuai's songs are done together with whipping, as a part of 'knowing' Kuai. Tarira is the name of a large freshwater fish and the name of a Kuai-song. When the narrator says that whips and songs are "Kuai's fruits", one way of understanding this is the linguistic similarity between the word for 'whip' (liiyaka), the word for fruit-shell (liiya) for treebark (haiko-iiya), and for skin of a person (liiya). They are homonyms. Kuai's whipping-with-song is thus like striking shells of ripe fruits, which like striking the skin of a person.

[16] The children greet Kuai.

[17] Kuai's abdomen, the Jaguar Bone, is a central part of Kuai's body and does not move, while the fingers of Kuai's hand do.

[18] Yaperikuli prepares for Kuai's return. The childrens' seeing Kuai cannot go unmediated. Y. must act as intercessor, as 'knower-for-them', as 'patron', or 'owner of the childrens' knowing.'

[19] Y. hides above the house-door immediately before Kuai comes up from the port where he lamded. In several accounts, Kuai's coming is preceded by the sky becoming totally dark. As one narrator put it: "It becomes like night, very dark. Yaperikuli put a shield over the door, for Kuai made a great inferno in the sky. It was dark, almost like night, when Kuai descended."

When Keramunhe says, Y. 'doesn't stay like so', he emphasized that there is a spatial separation before the coming. It is possible Keramunhe was making a contrast with initiation rituals done these days, when the elder stays with the children being initiated and calls the sacred instruments up from the port.

[20] The identifications are: Patawa (*Oenocarpus Batawa Mart.*), Imacaba (*Oenocarpus Distiahus Mart.*), Assai (*Palmaceas Euterpe Oleracea Mart.*), Ucuqui (*Neetaginaceas Neea.*); Uacu (*Leguminosas Papilonaceas Spruce*), Japura (see above). For the ripening-times of these forest-fruits, see the season chart in Part I.C.

[21] This again is a pre-ritual instruction: to gather manioc, to make beer, in preparation for a stage of the childrens' initiation when Kuai summons (*Ilkăpétan*)them. All of part three of this episode is about this summons.

[22] Lines 250-7 : Kuai descends from the sky to the earth, all of which transpires within an afternoon. The descent is by gradual paces marked by the narrator as follows: with each pace, Keramunhe's voice rose in pitch, and his hand traced a path from the sky to the earth. One way this can be understood is that in the cosmos, from Kuai's village to the earth, there are a series of planes or 'rooms' one over the other and connected. Kuai descends gradually through each one.

[23] Kuai's summons song which Keramunhe mimics in a harsh and raspy voice. It contrasts strongly with Kuai's previous songs. One gets the impression of it as mysterious and frightening. This is also suggested by the two rhetorical questions immediately following, both of which are asked with apprehension.

[24] Y.'s relations with Kuai are marked by negativeness. This has been so from the start but now the relation is like two repelling poles: while both of them are together, Y. wishes K. would leave.

[25] Keramunhe is foretelling what will happen. In brief, the children are restricted and cannot eat roasted food. Kuai takes them to Hipana, where there is a huge uacú tree. He climbs it and sits on top, throwing down ripe uacú nuts to the children below. They gather them and would return to their ritual house at Enípan , where Kuai would have done the necessary spells to end their restrictions. Three children eat roast uacú nuts, however, and Kuai eats them.

[26] Kuai sits on the uacú treetop with a bone, striking the uacú nuts and breaking open their shells. When the children roast and eat the uacú, "they eat Kuai's body", "the flesh of Kuai", for Kuai is identified with the uacú, "he made it." Kuai knows that they have eaten when the smoke of their fire rises from below and he smells it, i.e., his burning flesh.

[27] Kuai 'drunk with smoke' sings out. "my flesh" (*nonũpa*)is Kuai's flesh, equated with the *uacú* and metaphorically assimilated to roast pacú fish (*kerapokoli*, a red-and-black striped freshwater fish). After Kuai sings, he lies down "sick", "dead" on the uacú treetop. As all of his body sings out uncontrollably, spit falls down

27 (cont.) like rain from all of the orifices of his body. The spit comes out in a loud, onomatopoeic, watery sound, and the narrator;s hand traces a falling motion to the ground. People say that the spit became a vine which one can see on the uacú tree today (*Tsamaale-wápe*, in Baniwa; *Cupí*, in lingua geral).

28 Lines 307-20 are spoken quickly and as the result of my having to turn over the cassette just as they were being spoken, I may have cut some details. Keroami spoke the following:

"Kuai revives, descends the uacú, and asks the children:
'Who ate ?' 'We didn't eat.'
They quickly take manioc bread, rub it over their mouths, to remove the smell.
Kuai sniffs the mouths of each and knows who has eaten.
The one little one who didn't eat, he sends away.
Then he calls rain.. A Great Rain, Huge Waters !!
TZZZEEESHHH !!!! It fell, the rainwater.
"Paah, I want our house we look for it," he says like so.
Then he lay his mouth down on the ground: HUGE !! A HUGE rock cave !
Kuai's mouth, Kuai's bealy.
"Heyy, I stay in here ! Come in here ! Well they stay out of the rain ! Come come !!
Then they enter, three of them enter Kuai's mouth.
The youngest brother comes and sees Kuai's eye shut.
DZUUUUU !!! [Surprise, fright] They should know it is *Inyaime*" he says, "Only one eye he has: COME OUT !!!! " he says, "COME OUT of it before he closes his mouth" PT' TUKK !! [Kuai's mouth closes] done..PAUGH !! Kuai ate them...:"

In Baniwa belief, *Inyaime* is a demon spirit which traps people by calling them to its house. Like the forest-spirits, *Inyaime* can assume anomalous shapes to call people in order to eat them.

29 In every other narration I heard, there are some important details in Kuai's regurgitating the children. At Enipan, Yaperikuli sets out on the patio four baskets (bread baskets) or four manioc-sifters. Kuai arrives and throws up the eaten flesh of the dead children, individually, circling each basket and throwing each up, along with uacú, in each basket. The uacú had made holes in the childrens' chests. In the fourth basket, there was nothing.

30 Some people says that after Kuai ate them, Y. turned over the palm of his open right hand and drops of blood fell from it. "Oooh, already Kuai ate them," he says sorrowfully. Or, in some versions, Y. sees rain falling and knows what has happened. Both the rain and the falling blood are images in Baniwa myths of death, loss of kin and sorrow at the loss. Keramunhe makes the dramatic impact of the loss more forceful by the two drawn-out songs, as Kuai flies away. There is immediate comic relief, as Y. says, "Aaaahh" to which Keramunhe's son, the listener, chuckles.

[31] The little one tells Y. that Kuai has eaten his brothers. In Keruami's version, this is a very sorrowful speech: "Already Kuai ate my kin, I *told* them to keep the restrictions well, I *told* them, but he ate them..."

[32] Yaperikuli makes statue-like images of the regurgitated children and sets them up on molongé wood (*Apocinaceae*). The statue-images will make Kuai think that the children have returned to life and thus he will return to end the festival. Y. makes headdresses of red and blue macaw feathers and other ornaments, such as kneebands, collars of silvery triangles, all in preparation for the 'coming-out' festival which will end the initiation.

[33] White maggots (*hĭlieri*, in Baniwa) which Y. scrapes from the eaten-flesh of the children. The maggots are also known as 'the rot of *Malinaliene*'. The childrens' regurgitated flesh is likened to spoiled game, for little white maggots appear in the flesh of freshly-killed game. Baniwa believe that it is the liver which produces this. Also, on open flesh-wounds on people, these whitish specks appear, which in spells to cure this, they are called "the rot of Kuai." The maggots are food for Kuai, used as an invitation to return to complete the initiation, to bring the children back to life.

Kalimatu is a 'small fly or bee' which lives in the rooves of peoples' houses. *Kalimatu* also makes its home in the yellowish earth near peoples' graves (the old practice of burying in houses). This *Kalimatu* carries the maggots in its mouth to Kuai's house.

[34] *Kalimatu* enters the sky-door (*Eēnu-ienūma*, *Kuai-ienūma*) which connects Kuai's village with this world. Kuai slams the door shut on *Kalimatu*, traps it inside, then throws back down the maggots, rejecting Y.'s offer of food.

[35] The maggots are "Kuai's heart" or "soul". "Bitter-stuff" is like venomous liver-bile which spoils flesh.

[36] *Kalimatu* says the children are alive, not dead, and well. This is to 'trick Kuai' to come back to bless in payment for restricting them.

[37] Kuai knows Y. will try to kill him, in exchange for the childrens' death. Several narrators said that Y. makes a sickness (*hĩwĩáthi*) before Kuai arrived, which is intended to make Kuai go blind from smoke. But Kuai agrees to come all the same.

[38] *Kālīdzámai*: the most important blessing, or spell-blowing, with tobacco over manioc bread and pepper. Its purpose is to end the restrictions on food by making cooked food and fish safe for the initiates to eat. In initiation rites done for boys today, three seated elders sing the spells and bless the food with tobacco for one entire night until dawn. The three elders of the myth are Y. and two brothers. Following a set of spell-chanting, the elders drink

38 (cont) cane beer, dance with whips, and sing initiation songs, like these transcribed here.

39 Paymapa, with pain or shame. This a dance expression. When people drink and dance together, usually coming into or going out of the ritual house is done 'without shame or embarassment.' In these initiation songs, it is with shame that Kuai came. One way of explaining this is that Kuai has come and stayed hidden in the house or away from sight in the sky. It is 'shame' which conceals Kuai.

40 The refrain when singing spells. There is no particular translation.

41 I would guess Kūyūlianū is related to the word for thunder, Kūyūlípa.

42 The three trees are the largest trees of the forest. By color, brasilwood is red; then blackwood; and uacaricoara is yellowish-white. All of them are used in making houses, as the main or center beams of the houses. Other narrators add to the list of things which Y. throws on top of Kuai's fire: rocks, stone pendants, uacu trees, every heavy tree. It is a huge fire which burns, an Inferno that scorches the earth.

43 "My sickness-giving" (No-poamína) is venom which is Kuai's fur. Kuai leaves sickness-giving-with-venom in the form of hair or fur for people in the world. The 'fur' of Kuai covers all parts of his body, as, by analogy, on the body of a black sloth. Shamans say that when Kuai's fur left his body in the burning, it went and entered the fur of a black sloth (wāmo)and a little white sloth (tchītamali). Today, the venom which shamans extract from people sick with it often takes the form of the hair of the black sloth.

Venom takes many forms in the world today. Other narrators say that 'my sickness-giving' means other pain in this world which kills. For-instance, one person said, "they kill with wood, they cut with machetes, they kill with poison-arrows." Another said, "they fall in the river, they climb trees and fall." Kuai cannot be killed by any of these things but after Kuai, people do die from them.

Keroami said that as Kuai burns, Y. united all the people there were at that time to listen to Kuai speak about all the pain and sicknesses there are in the world. Then Kuai ascends to the sky in a huge cloud of smoke, singing. As a spirit, Kuai lives forever in the sky, 'he does not die', and only a few shamans see Kuai, the Owner of Sicknesses.

44 That is, the paxiuba which will come out from Kuai's burning-place. It is the source of the sacred flutes. Baniwa men say that the sacred instruments used today in initiation rites are "not made by them" but came from this original paxiuba tree.

45 The paxiuba came out of Kuai's anus, but it is also known as "Kuai's navel or umbilicus" and the "Sky-navel/umbilicus" (Tiepolepi-eenu).

45 (cont.) The paxiuba connects the center of the world at Hipana with the center of the sky where Kuai lives. The paxiuba is considered the trail to the sky. At the very top, some people say, are "leaves of gold." (See the drawing of the cosmos in III.E. and III.C.3.)

46 Bark of the tree Purpurea Iebaru Sp.. The bark is wrapped as a covering around the heads of the flutes, and then a thick ribbing vine ties it together. The bark and the vine are considered the paxiuba's "companions" for they "always go together."

47 An unidentified small tree animal with sharp teeth. The closest I have come to identifying it is as a bird of the Tiranideos family. All other animals who can't cut it are rodents with sharp teeth.

48 There are up to twenty pairs of these flutes (only the Waliadoa has three in a set) which are used in initiation rites today. Inambu and Tucano represent birds, which are sometimes pets, the dove and the toucan respectively. The last 'Hee hee' is the Jaguar Bone. All of them correspond to different named parts of Kuai's body.

49 Lines 534-8 seem to be saying that Kuai wants to kill Y. in payment for his own killing. There is no way how Y. himself could break the connection between the earth and the sky, below and above, father and son. Hence he must send a woodpecker to do it.

50 Kuai-wápe, all the newly cut pieces of paxiuba (See also Note 3).

51 Shamans explain that the Harpy eagle Kamathawa is Yaperikuli's pet, who lives forever with Yaperikuli at his house in the sky.

52 There is an unstated background to this episode which requires some explanation: Yaperikuli is probably initiating his son with the sacred instruments. Yaperikuli's son is at the end of a period of restriction and seclusion. The sudswood padzuma (and one other molipi) are used at the ends of seclusion periods in initiation and post-birth rituals. The sudswood acts as a soap, a cleanser and purifier for the people who have been secluded, making their bodies free from sicknesses which may have entered during seclusion.

During initiation seclusion, boys are expected to bathe at dawn or just before dawn every morning. They arise from their hammocks to plunge into the cold river water to wash. This practice is part of the behavior expected of initiates, in order to learn how to withstand the cold and to be alert and wakeful, not sleepy and lazy.

During initiation seclusion, when boys see Kuai, they enter a condition in which all of their bodily orifices are "opened up." The men say that the sacred instruments "make holes" in the initiates' bodies. Initiates, for instance, are expected to vomit every morning when they bathe, to cleanse out the dirt from their insides. Boys' sexual orifices are also opened up when seeing Kuai.

52 (cont.) Baniwa believe that men menstruate (equivalent to masturbation) and male menstruation begins for boys at the end of initiation seclusion. Kēwiken, male menstruation, occurs on nights of the new moon, which is also the time when initiation seclusion is at an end and the boys are expected to bathe in the river with padzuma. Kēwiken occurs while the men sleep and the new moon makes "their milk" (=semen) come out. This makes the men listless and sleepy and they lie in their hammocks instead of getting up early.

So, this episode begins with the following situation: Yaperikuli's son is menstruating but he is expected to get up and bathe at dawn with padzuma, to cleanse his penis. He oversleeps and with this 'lack of thought', the women are able to go before Y.'s son arises and to take away the sacred flutes.

53 When they are not being played, the sacred instruments are stored at the bottom of a stream near the village. The ornaments are kept in a specially constructed shelter nearby.

54 Wálamas are sickness-giving thorns. Here they are equated with poison-darts which shoot out of the flutes. The sound mimic is the noise that the walamas make as they fly about in the air. Most kinds of walamas, in fact, are believed to make similar noises as they fly about in the air.

In general, walamas are spines or thorns, of many different kinds, on trees of many different kinds, in this world and the other world of the sky. Walamas have poison of varying strength. All of them produce hot, stabbing pain, needle-like, in peoples' bodies often with inflammations. They produce the equivalent of arthritis, rheumatism, etc. The various kinds of paxiuba out of which the Kuai flutes are made also have poison-spines that "pick, bite and hurt" those who come in contact with them.

Thus the women turn back Y. for it is too dangerous to get near the flutes. When the women have the flutes, the sex roles of the characters are reversed. Narrators say that Y. "could not do anything as he used to", he "became afraid and fled from the women and the loud noise that they made with the flutes."

55 The Uaraná stream, a major tributary of the upper Aiary River. At the headwaters is a range of hills the largest of which is called Motípan. In several other accounts, the women stop at two places on the Uaraná stream: Jacú-bird point, where Y. makes the jacú bird sing so as to make an omen that he was pursuing her; at the second place the same things happened. "But she was not afraid."

56 The women begin the initiation rites for their youngest sister who had already begun to menstruate. She is restricted from eating pepper and cooked food until the spell-blowing is done. While the women possess the flutes, the youngest sister begins to menstruate. Men say of womens' menstruation: "it began with Kuai. Kuái makes holes in women with this paxiuba of his." The word is Kanúpakan.

57 Tunui is on the mid-*Içana* River, a large range of hills and a very great rapids. Tunui has a great deal of mythical significance. In this episode it is the location of the House of Kathiwa, from whom Y. obtains the strongest plant poison for darts, to kill Amaru. In Kathiwa's house, various kinds of birds are seated in pairs of male and female.

58 The first sound mimic is Kathiwa's arrow as it smacks and pierces the earth, cutting like a bolt of lightning. The second is Y.'s dart as it comes down from the sky-door, making a zigzag pattern with the sound of its flight.

59 Y. and the others transform into wintergrogs. They sing in chorus to make an omen that they have pursued Amaru and have come to kill her. The sound "Okeekoe" is very much like "Okoikoi" meaning "Oh Aunt." In line 651, "they were made happy" refers to the women who are dancing with Kuai (*Huīwa* means 'happy hearts.').

60 *Măkūlitĕtĕ* are probably worms of the earth, or some insect of the earth (an the equivalent to the *Kalimatu*) which run out and into the bread basket (*walaia*). The Brazilian anthropologist E. Galvão observed an initiation rite for a girl in 1954. In it, the officiating elder blessed the girl's food which included manioc bread, pepperpot, cooked fish, a head of fish and some earthworms. (Galvão, 1959).

61 The tatú, a small armadillo, is acting as a scout for Y. and the others who are hiding in a fishtrap by the riverbank. The armadillo burrows through the earth, by its trail, to the center of the womens' house.

62 After Y. has killed several of the Amarus, he returns to throw four of them, one after another, to the four directions of the sky. The first, 'woodpecker-Amaru' want to the east, 'black sky'; the second to the west; the third, probably south; the last, north. This 'throwing' can be expressed in other ways: Keroami said that Y. sends (*lipīra*) the Amarus to four directions of the sky, or four directions of the earth, the earth modality corresponding with the sky directions.

The Amarus are left in all places of this world to become the mothers of all people. An Amaru went to Portugal and raised the Portuguese, etc. In initiation rituals done today, the sending of the Amarus forms the principal content of the spells for blessing food, *kalidzamai*.

63 The sacred flutes are now completed. The hair, fur, skins of various animals, or their namesakes, are attached as ornaments to the sacred flutes. *Paca*, a wild pig, a night animal, is the name of a large trumpet. *Tarīra* and *Uaracú* are both freshwater fish and names of the large sacred flutes. *Warīrī* are large 'spine-rats' and have coats of prickly hair. Womens' hair, cut from girls at the time of their first menstrual rites, is attched to the Waliadoa flutes.

[64] Immediately prior to narrating the Kuai myth, Keramunhe explained how Y. and the Primal Sun looked for the ancestors of real people, the sib ancestors, from the holes at Hipana. (See M.3.0. in Part V.). The Enawi-nai figure in this myth and other creation myths as "the good people" of the long ago past. They are not separate sib ancestors as for example, each sib has its own set of specific first ancestors. Many sibs have the Enawi-nai as their common joint ancestors. An interesting question arises whether these Enawi-nai were historical peoples who may have been exterminated by the Portuguese colonists.

One Calipere-dakenai elder explained the significance of the Enawi-nai: "Long ago, my ancestors the old ones, were Enawi-nai. In the same way that the white people have a governor, but for my people, the Enawi-nai were governors. In the long ago world, for the Calipere-dakenai, they were the chiefs of people. Thus it is..."

Endnotes

[1] To a reader barely familiar with South American mythology and with myths of the Vaupés/Içana region, and to whom this myth would seem "fantastic" but inaccessible, I would recommend perusing some of the Baniwa myths assembled in Part V, including the two Içana variants of this myth. Beyond this, other useful sources and interpretations of Vaupés/Içana myths may be found in the following works:

Bruzzi Alves da Sousa, A.
(1962) A Civilização Indigena do Uaupés. Sao Paolo.

Hugh-Jones, Stephen
(1972/73) Male Initiation and Cosmology of the Barasana. Doctoral thesis. King's College. Cambridge.

Hugh-Jones, Christine
(1977) Social Classification among the South American Indians .... Darwin College. Cambridge.

Goldman, Irving
(1963) The Cubeo. Urbana.

Goldman, Irving
(1939-40) "Cosmological Beliefs of the Cubeo." Journal of American Folklore. Vol 53: 242-7.

Pereira, Nunes
(1967) Moron Guêtá. Rio de Janeiro.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, G.
(1975) The Shaman and the Jaguar. Philadelphia.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, G.
(1971) Amazonian Cosmos. Chicago.

Ribeiro, Berta G.
(To be published) Os Indios das Águas Pretas.

Stradelli, Ermanno
(1890) Leggenda dell' Jurupary. Bolletino della Societa Geografica Italiana. Serie IV, 1: 457-83. Roma.

[2] If I have been ambiguous about using Nature/Culture to this point, let it be clear that I believe the terms "are there," but also think that there should be at least three parts to the combination: Humans---Forest (Animal/Plant)---Spirits.

Finally there is this to be said: with all the connections from myth to experiential level, the birth of Kuai depicts an extra-ordinary being who has the qualities of magical, miraculous growth, but who also poses extreme dangers to people by giving them sickness. It can not co-exist with humans without some kind of mediator, for it is an in-between, liminal kind of being, who crosses several worlds. There are two things from this which we might relate to messianic or millenial concerns. The first is the concern for protection from sickness and sickness-giving spirits. The second is magical growth. In the late nineteenth Century, for instance, the Baniwa messiah, Anizetto, had the reputation for making plantations grow, and for curing people from sickness (see Part II.E.1). In 1950, the American evangelist Sofia Muller claimed she "came from heaven," similarly was known for curative powers and for "making plantations grow" (Muller, 1952: 62). Both of them were, in a sense, "liminal" kinds of beings, crossing two worlds; and both had the same powers as we find dramatized in the myth.

[3] We shall come to see that this is the key metaphor for describing how children are made to grow and become reproductive in initiation rites. They undergo a similar kind of transformation. In the myth they enter a rock-mouth which we shall see has to do with making them grow (see III.C.4).

[4] Material poverty has a bearing in myth, although I think the Baniwa of the Aiary River have been influenced in their consciousness of poverty by the Baniwa of the Içana River, and by caboclos, mixed native and white, of the Rio Negro. These people are constantly telling the Hohodene that their ancestors knew nothing, that the region is poor, and that they are really desirous of "changing into white people."

One brief myth is told of how white people began and got their material wealth. Yaperikuli made from a rotting Anaconda two people, one a Baniwa and the other a white person. He gave to each a shotgun and told them to shoot at a target. The Baniwa shot and missed; the white shot and hit. From then on, the white people were given all things. If it had not been so, and the Baniwa hit, they would have stayed with the wealth. The two people who told me this myth (more exactly, an "anti-myth," following Da Matta) laughed and laughed at the end, as if in mocking the situation the myth describes.

[5] In Part II, we discussed the sloth-fur masks which the Tariana used to represent their Jurupary, or Kue as they call it. Similarly, the connection between wamu, or the sloth, and Kuai is close, although Baniwa did not have

sloth-fur masks.

[6] I am grateful to Dr. Terrence Turner for these insights and guidance in interpretation.

[7] Shamans used most frequently snuff prepared from several species of Virole (V. calophylla, V. calophylloidea, V. theidora), a myristicacea. Shamans of the Aiary River knew of the other major kind of snuff obtained from the seeds of Anadenanthera peregrina, found in savanna environment, and known widely as yopo (see Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1975: 19-21).

[8] There is little "mythologizing" about these accounts; the distinction between the two kinds of explanation would follow what we will discuss later on, as Speech of the Present as opposed to Speech of the Ancients.

[9] The physiology of male menstruation is very likely masturbation.

[10] Throughout Part III, we failed to make a connection between Baniwa cosmology and models of individual being or of social groups within Baniwa society. Stephen and Christine Hugh-Jones' studies of Barasana religion are examples of what could be done, in the future, to deepen our understanding of Baniwa religion and cosmology. Nevertheless, it has occured to me that Baniwa sketches of the cosmos do contain a vision of the structure of both the social order and individual being. Very clearly: Yaperikuli is the elder age-group and represents knowledge; Kuai is the age-group of adult men, combines attributes of dance-leader and shaman, and represents the soul/heart; Amaru, the group of women, represented by the levels of birds in the cosmos, also represents various intermediate organs of the body; down to the "world-below" (Wapinakoa), who are the unborn and represent the sexual organs.

In a future work on Baniwa religion, we will pursue these lines of interpretation.

PART IV: SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSIONS

In this conclusion, I shall divide my remarks into two sections. In the first, I shall summarize the historical material presented in Parts I and II, especially on the millenarian movements, and discuss their relationships with Baniwa mythology, ritual, and shamanism, as presented in Parts III and V. In the second part, I shall try to make some more general observations on the inter-relationships among Baniwa oral history, myth, and religious movements.

In Part I, we discussed several ways that millenarian beliefs were present in the lives of the Aiary River Baniwa in 1976-7. Most importantly, we noted, were the shamans' powers to interpret and prophesy events; to transform and create "in their thoughts"; to cure, heal, and eliminate threatening conditions; and to safeguard the well-being of communities in the face of crises. Certain high-shamans were equated both with the Creator Yaperikuli and with Jesu Christu. Like both, these high-shamans were believed to have the power to "save" human communities from disaster and to transform the social and natural order within their own lifetimes. During the rubber-gathering period of a generation ago, when people suffered from epidemics and persecution by rubber patrons, these high shamans were able to utilize their powers in ways which were absolutely essential for the physical and cultural survival of the Baniwa.

The shamans also have the unique ability to be a part of the "other-world" of the deities, spirits and ancestors. This other-world is widely recognized as a Paradise, free from suffering, sickness, and evil. Frequently, the other-world is contrasted with this-world, the earth where such conditions can prevail. At the event of death, for example, such contrasts are made explicitly and felt by the community.

In Part III, we saw that the dramatic structure in the sacred myth of Kuai parallels shamans' curing rituals, and that certain millenarian themes are common in the religious language of both. These themes include: the "coming" of a "new-other-world"; "death" and rebirth; "salvation" of souls; the "long night" of sickness, seclusion and persecution; the transformation of the social and natural worlds by an infernal world-fire; and the return of a good condition, of well-being and "happiness." We noted similar parallels in the language used on occasions of death: death is systematically denied as the end of life, while rebirth into eternity is affirmed as the condition which all souls experience after their passage from this world.

The Baniwa believe in the possibilities of salvation from suffering which is explained in their sacred traditions and upheld by their spiritual leaders. Through this belief, they are able to bear the oppressive conditions which they experience in this world. Baniwa history gives ample evidence of, and a basis for, their belief in the world as a place-of-pain. From the time European invaders penetrated the Upper Rio Negro valley in the early eighteenth Century, to the present, the Baniwa have faced wars of extermination, enslavement, forced relocation, epidemics, forced labor, debt and dependence, exploitation, physical abuse, famine, military raids, removal of their children, loss of their lands, and the destruction of their social and cultural traditions, including the sacrilege and sale of sacred objects. All of these fall under the rubrics of genocide and ethnocide, and the Baniwa have experienced a wide variety of both.

In Part II, we began with a brief attempt to sketch Baniwa socio-economy, religion and politics in their aboriginal state, based on oral traditions and the observations of early visitors. The written sources are inadequate for telling us much about the Baniwa specifically, but they did allow us to see that the Hohodene and their sib-brothers lived in the region of the headwaters of the Aiary; they were well-adapted to both the forest and riverine environments; they were part of long-distance inter-tribal trade networks; and they were not warlike, until they were obliged to defend themselves from invasion. Chiefs and shamans were tremendously important in the lives of the tribes; and the cult of the sacred flutes was central to political and religious organization and belief. The Hohodene characterization of early "historical" times demonstrates how this aboriginal state was then turned upside down when the Europeans invaded the Upper Rio Negro region.

In Part II.B, we reviewed the protohistory and early colonial history of the Rio Negro region and attempted to describe the effects of slavery, relocation programs, missionization, and development projects on the Baniwa and other Indian people. Unlike many tribes in the region, the Baniwa did not suffer heavy losses and the terrible effects of the slavery period; probably, they absorbed renegade slaves into their number. We examined in some detail how the Portuguese slave-traders reached the Baniwa through wars of extermination, and through private and official trading, which was founded on a colonial ideology and rhetoric that all Indians of the URN region practiced "cannibalism." Yet by the time the slaving period had officially ended in 1755, the Portuguese had not penetrated deeply into the Baniwa territory, as shown by the earliest maps of the region.

In the second half of the eighteenth Century, many Baniwa were obliged to adapt to the colonial institutions of governmental authority and programs of economic development. As the Spanish and Portuguese laid claims to "their territory," the Indians were relocated and put to work under the supervision of the military, missionaries and settlers. Largely because of the deteriorating living circumstances with which the Indians were faced, coupled with the offer of trade goods, and the cooptation of chiefs, many tribes more or less accepted the colonial system, at least temporarily. Through population figures, maps, and early colonial chroniclers, we saw that, during this time, Baniwa suffered severe population declines because of epidemic diseases and forced relocation to the Rio Negro. This is also described in Hohodene oral history. Because of difficult living circumstances on the Rio Negro, however, the Hohodene and other Indians fled from the colonists, seeking refuge in remote areas in the vicinity of their traditional homelands.

The government programs for developing the URN region in the late eighteenth Century did not have any lasting importance. The few priests working in the region tried to incorporate the native peoples into the colonial empires and by and large, the Indian people sought out their protection and assistance, as long as the priests did not abuse traditional religious practices. There was no systematic missionization nor any attempt to teach in the Indian language, however, so that the Christianity introduced by the priests and settlers was only half-imbibed, digested, and mixed in with Indian religion.

By the end of the eighteenth Century, Baniwa had come to know the white man as someone to work for, whose religious beliefs and views of the world, and relationships to resources, were profoundly different from their own. Baniwa barely survived the late eighteenth Century contacts but for several generations they had a respite from the invaders, which enabled them to rebuild their society.

In Part II.C, we introduced the Hohodene oral history which described the Indians' early contacts with the Portuguese in the late eighteenth Century, their forced descent to the Rio Negro, and their return to the Içana River. Because the Hohodene had been severely battered by wars with the Portuguese, when they returned from the Rio Negro, they lived in hiding for years on the Içana River, until the Oalipere-dakenai people initiated an alliance with them. The oral history then describes a movement from a societyless condition to one of social alliance, which was celebrated in festivals in which sacred instruments were played. We showed that this was the first direct link between the historical process of revitalization and the myth of Kuai, which explains the processes of initiation.

Once the social alliance between the Hohodene and Oalipere had been formed, the Hohodene were in a position to assist the Oalipere who desperately needed land and requested a division of territory with their affines. Then, the Hohodene and Oalipere lived for several generations prosperously, and their population continued to increase. Meanwhile, the territorial government was once again steadily advancing up the Rio Negro.

In the first half of the nineteenth Century, the constant demand for laborers, manioc, and native products was an inexorable economic determinant in the relations between the territorial governments and the Indian peoples. We examined how the labor systems were implemented and their impact on the peoples of the Vaupés and Içana; and how the few merchants, missionaries and military who worked in the region kept the native peoples in debt and dependence. The Indians who were not caught up by the labor system worked out viable ways of keeping culture and community together and at a safe distance from the white people. In religious matters, while traditional ceremonials were flourishing, the Indians and peasant settlers had developed a very popular "folk Catholicism."

Much more research has to be done on this form of folk Christianity and how it evolved among the Baniwa. All that can be said with certainty now is that by the mid-nineteenth Century, certain holy-days in the Christian religious calendar had become focal points for discontented believers to express their hopes for the revolutionary transformation of the dominant social, political and economic orders.

Part II. D brought us into a period of transformation. During the course of ten years, the Indian peoples of the Upper Rio Negro region organized religious and political movements in a struggle against the oppression, exploitation, abuse, and genocide which were the consequences of a system which was introduced and implemented by the provincial government in the early 1850's. We first examined government ideology and rhetoric of "civilizing" and "catechizing" the Indian people, and the government programs to control and utilize Indian labor power for the revitalization of a "decadent" province. Government ideology classified indigenous groups as tribal or "uncivilized" in order to begin a process of their detribalization or "civilizing." We then saw how these programs were implemented on the Vaupés, Içana and their tributaries; we noted the conflicts between military officials and missionaries in their work; and we pointed out the growing rebellion among certain tribal leaders who resisted the programs of resettlement and "public works."

One of the more tragic episodes in this time was the persecution and extermination of the Möle-dakénai people, who lived in the forest region of the upper Vaupés and upper Papury Rivers, and who were the elder brothers of the Hohodene. As the story is told in both Hohodene oral history and in written documents, several merchants and military officials had persuaded the Tariana to raid Möle-dakénai villages for children who would later be sold to government officials. When the Möle-dakénai resisted, the military mounted a punitive expedition against them. The Möle-dakénai were massacred and the survivors, along with the Hohodene, were bound by ropes and shipped off to the provincial capitol. This episode, it turned out, was not an isolated event but it revealed a much more extensive system of oppression, exploitation and abuse which grew progressively worse by the end of the ~~mid-~~nineteenth Century.

Basing our narrative on the extensive government documents of this time and on Hohodene oral history, we described the activities of the Brazilian military, merchants, and missionaries among the Baniwa from 1858-60. When the millenarian movements started up among the Baniwa in 1857, the military and missionaries attempted to repress them by using terror and force. At the same time, they attempted to induce large numbers of Indians to work on the construction of a new fort on the border, and to produce large quantities of farinha for the sustenance of the military colony. Certain merchants were authorized to implement the "public service" program, and to persuade the Hohodene to relocate. But the Hohodene and other Baniwa collectively resisted the white men, by seeking refuge in inaccessible parts of the forest or by relocating to areas where they could pursue their productive ways of life autonomously and in peace. Meanwhile, the military, merchants, and missionaries were involved in bitter dispute over their respective powers to control the Indians. The increasingly arbitrary and oppressive political and economic system exacerbated not only the unrest, but also the severe deprivation which was one of the principal causes of the millenarian and messianic movements from 1857 on.

Part II.D.4-6 is the extraordinary narrative of the movements which took place among the Indians of the Içana, Vaupés, and Xié Rivers from 1857-60. We examined the life-stories of the leaders, their following, their ideologies and organizations, and we provided a detailed sequence of events from the first to the last government reports about them. It is not possible to summarize that narrative here, but we can highlight certain overall patterns of development in the movements and their ideologies, and we can relate these to the Baniwa myths of Kuai, Yaperikuli, and Kaali (the giver of manioc), as presented and interpreted in Parts III and V of this thesis.

Venancio Christo was a high-shaman, with experiences of severe sickness, misfortune and debt; he was brought up by a Christian preacher; and apparently he had a great deal of charismatic qualities. He prophesied the end of the world by cataclysmic fire, which is an important theme in the Kuai myth, in shamanism, at the event of death, and in other Baniwa myths, which signifies the end of suffering and the return of happiness. Venancio organized ritual dances incorporating traditional dance patterns and song-motifs. His prophesy was that the dancers would ascend to heaven, which is also a theme occurring in certain Baniwa myths. He urged his followers to reject completely the white man's system, material goods, and even want of food, because the orientation of the saved was to be totally to the other world, of Paradise. This is also a theme in the Baniwa myth of Kuai, for Kuai tells the children to fast for three dry seasons; the message being that bodily needs are to be denied in favor of spirituality during times of ritual passage.

Alexandre Christo's movement was at first very similar to Venancio's but it was noticeably more resistant to the intrusion of the white people. We saw that his ideology became more oriented to the benefits which would be realized in this world, even though they originated from the other world. "Manioc from heaven" would relieve hunger in this world, and the existing relations of political and economic domination would be over-turned in this world. In both movements, however, religious and political authority were firmly in the hands of the Indians and the religious reunions became compelling religious experiences in themselves.

Perhaps because of Alexandre's own failings and conflicts with his followers, the movement soon wound down. The Indians of the Vaupés quickly sought to make amends with the government authorities who were sent to tranquilize the situation and to remove the military, merchants and missionaries who had exacerbated the conflicts. Even so, the movements and the new religion did not just "die out"; the Indians of the Vaupés, Içana and Xié continued their dances with crosses for generations afterwards. As long as there was oppression and a sense of suffering in this world, the new religion of salvation and renewal would continue.

Parts II.E and F take Baniwa history from the rubber boom of the late nineteenth Century up to the present situation. We examined in detail the regional system of rubber extraction and production, but much more systematic attention still has to be given to the organization and production of farinha in this and all other times. We stressed the social and economic relationships between the Baniwa and certain rubber patrons such as Dom Germano Garrido y Otero, the most influential rubber patron in the URN region for several generations. Far more research, however, has to be done in local archives for a more complete account of Garrido's influence.

During the height of the rubber boom, there was a resurgence of messianic movements on the Içana and Vaupés. Then, as before, caboclo religious leaders helped bring Baniwa religious beliefs and shamanism in line with the general caboclo religion in Amazonia. The caboclo belief in Tupana, the spirit of thunder, became attached to the figure of Yaperikuli, and Jesu Christu; Jurupary, the spirit of the forest, to Kuai; shamans again became equated with saints, particularly the protector Saint Anthony.

A religious leader (probably a caboclo) named Anizetto became known as a great curer, and the Baniwa equated him with Yaperikuli. He was also attributed the powers of blessing gardens and making manioc plantations grow. The fact that Anizetto lived on the Cubate River, which the Baniwa attribute as the home of Kaali (the giver of manioc) no doubt was important to his following. In a sense, Anizetto combined the powers of two saviors into one: Yaperikuli (Jesu Christu), and Kaali, who is equated with Adam, the first man, and who provides food in times of hunger.

In general, the Indians of the region were on the look-out for protectors against the exploitation of rubber merchants. On the Vaupés, an Arapaço shaman named Vicente prophesied that Tupana would send missionaries to protect them, following the historical belief in the powers of the missionaries. Soon the Franciscans arrived and they did to a certain extent protect the Indians from the abuses of the rubber trade. But they also enforced a heavy-handed system of religious conversion. Certain zealous missionaries committed sacrireligious acts against the Tariana figure of Kue (Jurupary), seeking to destroy belief in it by exposing the sacred masks in public, which was tantamount to ethnocide. At the time, "Jurupary" was experiencing a revival among the Indians on the Vaupés, but the Franciscans provoked a deep crisis in belief from which the Tariana may have never recovered.

This incident was particularly revealing because several generations later, the North American New Tribes Mission evangelists committed similar acts of ethnocide against the Baniwa. We noted in Part I and in Part III that many evangelical Baniwa today no longer believe in Kuai and fear, in their hearts, to even speak of this millenial old belief any more. Nevertheless, the evangelical Baniwa hold a strong belief in the millenium, the hope for the second-coming of Christ. In a sense, the historical interweaving of evangelism with traditional Indian religion has been a support for millenial traditions, rather than a hindrance.

Today, the situation of the Baniwa does not show any signs of improvement over the last 250 years. In Part I, we documented the exploitation of the merchants in the basket trade and by now, the coca trade may have also reached the Içana and Aiary Rivers. We documented the ethnocidal crimes still being committed by certain Salesian and NTM missionaries against Indian religion. Until there is more systematic control over missionary activities or legal actions taken against the crimes they have committed, the missionaries will continue to force the Indians to compromise their religious beliefs or to conduct their ceremonies in secret. In 1980, the Brazilian government also announced plans for the relocation of thousands of poor settlers to the URN region around São Gabriel. We can well imagine that land disputes and agrarian conflicts will soon follow, as they have in all other Indian areas of Brazil where colonization schemes have taken place.

In 1976-7, many Hohodene and Oalipere were adapting to Brazilian society by outwardly adopting many of its ways, following the route of "integration" which was the only choice the government and missionaries were giving to them at the time. With the new airstrips on the Içana and Aiary, we can also imagine that numbers of Baniwa have already gone to the cities and become part of the detribalized minority living in the lowest conditions and as poor Brazilians.

One hopeful sign exists for the future, however, and that is if the Baniwa link up with the Indian movement which is currently forming among all Indians of Brazil and among all indigenous peoples of the world. The historical knowledge and experience which the Baniwa have of religious and political movements would be very important in the formation of this larger movement.

In summary, I believe that this thesis has done the bulk of the groundwork for the preparation of a book on the history and culture of an Amazonian people and to my knowledge, such a work has never before been written. On the other hand, I have tried to indicate the shortcomings of this thesis, the needs for further research in the documents, and above all else, the necessity of discussing this thesis with Hohodene elders.

Now I shall pass on to a few more general observations on the relationships among Baniwa myth, religious movements, and oral history. I do not intend to enter into an extended theoretical discussion here, but would just like to make a few concluding statements.

What ties the myth of Kuai, the Hohodene oral history, and the millenarian movements together is the central concern the Baniwa have for social reproduction. The myth of Kuai deals with this concern in at least four different thematic sub-plots, but the total process described by the myth as a whole is the reproduction of the social totality. The Hohodene oral history similarly focusses on the process of recreating society following the actual, historical fact of the near-extinction of its members. The oral history casts the process in terms which bear strong similarity to initiation themes in the myth of Kuai. But the conclusion of the oral history has an open-end: the Hohodene actually live in dispersed settlements on the Aiary, so how can there be unity among all members of the sib-group? The Kuai myth, the rituals when Kuai sacred flutes are played, and the creation myths answer to this concern, at their highest levels and as their ultimate goals.

The millenarian movements have all centered on processes of social reproduction. In a narrow sense, this was evident in the large ritual reunions, the marriages, and mass baptisms which the saviors conducted. In a larger sense, preceding every instance of millenarian resurgence, the physical, social, and cultural integrity of the Baniwa were severely threatened. The spiritual leaders and shamans understood that the sources of suffering and oppression, while threatening to disrupt the continuity of Baniwa society, were matters of this world. Suffering and oppression could be eradicated, transformed, or ameliorated when the shamans appealed to, or created the conditions for, a connection with the spiritual world. The spiritual world is eternal, "it can never die." Through their knowing, shamans reach this eternal and spiritual other-world every time they perform a cure for the sick, and it is through the spiritual world that individuals are reproduced as members of society.

PART V: SACRED STORIES OF THE HOHODENE AND OALIPERE DAKENAI

A. Selection and Arrangement

The Hohodene and Calipere-dakenai know many, many sacred stories and legends. In this collection, I do not claim to represent all of the important sacred stories, nor even a great majority of them. I have had to be selective, and the reason for my selection was how the myths could be important in understanding the central concerns of this thesis. The following list includes some of the considerations which guided my choices with relevant examples of myths (Refer to Table of Contents in V.C below):

1.) Passages, such as birth, death and rebirth. A common theme in many myths is the death and rebirth of the hero/heroine, often with rebirth into some other immortal form. In "The Beginning of Gardens" (M.5.0), the hero Kaali is burned in a great fire which scorches the earth. The first manioc plants were born from his dead body which remained in the earth. In the Kuai-myth, the subject of Part III., Kuai is burned in a great fire, but "Kuai does not die". Kuai's spirit lives an immortal existence in the Other World, while Kuai's body is represented in the sacred flutes, Kuai, which men play today. Death and Rebirth into immortality are abiding concerns also of M.1.0 and especially M.2.2, which tells how death began for people in the world today.

2.) Growth and Reproduction. Several myths describe processes of growth of the heroes, of objects, plants, animals and human groups. Growth is often related to periodic cycles, or it may occur as an extraordinary transformation, for instances, the growth of the Harpy eagle in M.2.0 and the growth of Yaperikuli in M.1.0. Growth and reproduction are related in the story of the great anaconda, Omawali, which is specifically focussed on the sexual relations of husbands and wives.

3.) Knowing (Ianheke) and the Forms of Knowing. How are different kinds of knowing reflected in social relations among characters ? When are characters called 'unknowing', 'stupid', 'without thought', or 'all-knowing' ? How are their errors or righteousness seen as affecting peoples' action today ? How are kinds of knowing reproduced from one generation to another and what are the social relations which govern the processes of reproduction ?

4.) Salvation (Nadzūmekan). Yaperikuli is the Creator of the world (M.1.0) and sets the order of the world by eliminating troublesome, dangerous, or threatening beings. Yaperikuli gives form to the world, periodicity to the seasons, through several trials which are recounted as an extended cycle in M.1.0 through M.2.2. Each of these stories represents a variation on the theme of Yaperikuli's ongoing battle with dangerous animal tribes who threaten to overturn the moral order and to create chaos.

Several of the myths are significant for understanding real, historic concerns, especially in the messianic and millenarian movements described in Part II. Salvation and themes of passage are clearly central motifs of the movements.

B. Summaries, Charts and Diagrams

It would be impossible to present myths transcribed from tapes without summaries and interpretive comments. I have thus written summaries and placed them immediately before each text. Also, each text is end-noted for word-translations and ethnographic or other explanatory material. My summaries have been constructed following one of several patterns. The first is that described by Leach in two essays: "Genesis as Myth" and "The Legitimacy of Solomon" (Both in Leach, 1969). These are precis or synopses of the stories in the form of numbered sentences. The second way is by telling the story in short paragraph form. With these, I found it easier to keep the continuity of the story and could add short, parenthetical comments on style along the way. In several instances, the myths could be neatly summarized by tables or diagrams. The information content of these myths was so well ordered, there were clearly discernible patterns which followed throughout the myth. In particular, M.4.0, is divided into three "pieces" of the narrative, each of which develops a plot according to a single pattern common to all three. I have left the table itself as the summary of the myth.

Following several summaries, I have included brief interpretive comments. In these, I have tried to point out how the myth develops important imagery, or what in particular about the myth is of interest to the people who tell it. In the myth of "The Beginning of Yaperikuli", there is a great deal of focus on expressing the birth and growth of the hero by the use of concrete containers. Through the use of concrete imagery, the idea of Yaperikuli's growth through various stages and immortality is expressed. Several of the myths are common to many tribes in the Northwest Amazon region, and it is thus useful to say how the Hohodene and Oalipere-dakenai speak of the significance of the stories for themselves.

C. A Collection of Sacred Stories

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M.5.0. Kaali-Governor and the Beginning of Gardens (Narrated by Maria, Calipere elder of Képirali-nūmánã).

M.6.0. Ooliámali, or Omáwali, the Anaconda (Narrated by Keroami).

M.7.0.-7.1. Two Variants of the Kuai Myth from the Baniwa of the Içana River. M.7.0 is the complete version published by Padre Wilhelm Saake (1956), translated by Dr. Bernhard Mecking. M.7.1 is a summary version from Eduardo Galvão (1959), my translation from Portuguese.

M.1.0. The Beginning of Yaperikuli (Summary).

Introduction. This is is one of the most important Baniwa myths and is widely-known, for it tells of the beginning of the Creator and Transformer of the world, Yaperíkuli. Narrators may tell this story either in the same way as transcribed here, or more often, they would tell the first and last "pieces" of the present narration (marked I and III) and omit the middle. Part I. tells of the beginning, nature and growth of Yaperíkuli in the world. Born from the inside of a bone, three children come out playing and they transform into crickets. Later they transform into a single woodpecker and finally, when they have completely grown-up, they make the world, transforming everything in it, and complete the world which people have today. Part II. of the myth tells of vengeance payments which Yaperikuli carries out against animals who had killed off nearly all people before Yaperikuli appeared. Yaperikuli encounters four animals, each engaged in some dis-ordering action. Yaperikuli (or, Y.) kills three of the animals but saves a single sloth. In Part III., Yaperikuli is shown to be invulnerable to one of the most destructive elements, earth fire. The people called *Doimeni* try to kill Y. by a great conflagration, but they fail and Y. arrives in the world, immortal and invulnerable.

Comment. This myth uses concrete forms to express some central ideas about growth and change. Containers are the central form. The name Yaperikuli is derived from *Niape-*, bone, *-riku-*, inside of, *-li* , masculine singular (alternates with Yaperiku-*nai*, plural ending). The three children who are Yaperiku-nai were born from the inside of a bone. This bone came from the remains of a person who had been eaten by the animal-tribe called *Doimeni*. This bone was thrown into the river and was fished out by a grandmother. She carried the bone inside of a gourd with a hole at one end. The three little Yaperiko-nai may come out of the hole but quickly return inside. Later, the grandmother carries them inside a carrying-basket, covered with a piece of bark, to the garden where she lets them out to eat food she gives them. Later they return inside but already they are growing and transforming. Yaperikuli's growth is thus portrayed as gradual coming-out of containers.

In Part II., the use of containers is elaborated, in the incidents with the three animals whom Yaperikuli kills. A fish without an anus empties out a lake with a gourd. A spiny hedgehog chips off pieces of a blackwood tree. A tapir kicks huge holes in an abacate fruit-tree to make the fruits fall. Yaperikuli gets them to perform each act according to a certain prescribed pattern, then gets each animal to admit where its weak and vulnerable spot lies. Yaperikuli promises to make a good anus for the fish and pokes a hole from one end to the other, killing it in payment for its destruction. The spiny hedgehog claims it can't be killed but Y. gets it to show one spot on its forehead where there are no spines, and Y. breaks open its head. The stupid tapir kicks huge holes in the fruit tree, so Y. conceals poisonous spines inside the holes and commands the tapir to kick again. The spines pierce tapir's foot, it runs and dies. In the three killings, Y. successfully manipulates containers, spines and piercing objects in order to obtain a just payment.

Part III: takes place in the garden, a new garden which is about to be fired. Y.'s step-father attempts to kill Y. by sending him to the middle while he fires the edge. Y. gets an ambauba-tree with a hole at the top, makes himself small and gets inside. The heat of the approaching fire bursts apart the container, but the three Yaperiko-nai come out alive. In other myths, Y. is associated with the sun, the Primal Sun and is thus the Life-Giver and cannot be destroyed.

M.1.0. The Beginning of Yaperikuli (Narrated by Keroami of Hipana).

I. "They begin the Doimeni [1]// Killed them, another people. // Long ago, long ago. // They killed everyone, Doimeni everyone.. // Before them. // Then this one, their fathers [2] // Ĕnúmere. // Threw away a bone.. [3]// Pǐ 'thǐ... Taaa ! It falls in midriver below. // Then... she was crying, she their grandmother, // She cried... // On returning, he hears her, Ĕnú̂mere, // He told her his wife // To go fetch the little bone // She gets a little fishnet, // She gets a gourd and goes, // They appeared for her. // They transformed into crayfish. // A bone appeared for her, they made noise inside. // She catches it and takes it back in the gourd. // She carries it and sets it on the hearth, // Below her. // Then they transform into little crickets, // Crickets.// She gets tapioca, // She gives them to eat. // The next day, she gives to them again, // Quickly they grew up, the Yaperiku-nai, quickly they grew ! [4] // Until... the next day // "Tchiri" was their song, "Hey", she strikes the gourd. // She opens it.// Until... they sing all of the crickets, everyone... // That's all, then she carries them into the garden, // Into the garden. // There she opened the basket // They ate, they ate.. // They ate everything... // Oh, "Oh that's enough" they say. // She goes back and sets them down. // There in the house. // She sets them in the same place. // She gets tapioca and gives to them, //"Tchiri-tchiritchiri" was their song. // They changed again into another cricket //

Untiiiil they climb up into the baby-strap and sing for their food, "Tchiritchiri" she strikes it. // Untiiiill they grow up well // People are beginning to appear, // Yaperiko-nai will appear, Yaperiko-ones. // Yaperiko-nai lived ! // On, "Do not work", she says. "No, we ourselves are Yaperikuli // "We ourselves are the World-nes, Yaperiko-nai" // "We are ready to make everything whatever", so they say. // "We can make everything... // "However it will be. " // Until... they climb again... // Soon after they transform again, // Into painted-face woodpecker. // The woodpecker climbs up again.. // She carries them again and elders were appearing. // In the garden she opens her basket and they begin cutting with machetes. // "Hey ! Don't cut yourselves, I watch you, my grandchildren. " // " No, we will not be harmed.. // "We ourselves are Yaperiko-nai, the World-ones" so they say. // "Ho" Already they climbed up a uapixuna fruit-tree... // To the top. // "You will fall", she says. // "We do not fall, Yaperikuli.. // "We do not fall, Yaperikuli, we are the World-ones." // On... // They stay there. // That's all, they make first this agouti. // They take uapixuna fruit, // "Grandmother, come.. " // "For, an agouti it will be" // Tsetsetsetse... Gengengengengeng... // The agouti began, she sees it come. // Thus it is the agouti likes gardens. // It eats then, manioc bread, always they do, the agouti. // "Ohh".. they come back down. // "You will fall !" she says. // "No", they come back down. // They approach... Tatatata.. // "You will fall !" // "We do not fall, the World-ones, Yaperiko-nai", so they say. // Until... they come back down, // and arrive. // "So you come" .. "Yes, thus is our way, we the Yaperiko-nai" .. "Oh" // Then they transform... // Everything ! They transform, in the beginning Yaperiko-nai made everything !! // The universe appears.. Everything ! Yaperikuli, they live. // However they could YAPERIKULI ! // YAPERIKULI WORLD !! // The World-ones, // The World-ones lived. // Then they transform.... // Everything..., they make the world ready, all of it ... // Thus it was they made the world, Yaperiko-nai. // YAPERIKO-NAI LONG AGO !! // Began this world for us... the world begins for us. // They made it long ago //

II. Then when they had finished everything, // On... // "How will it be that we look for our payment ?" // "Now, let's return to kill for our payment" "Ho" // Then they leave her. // In the beginning they are going to meet the sarapó fish. // At a lake. // It throws water from the lake.. pu' // It empties out the lake.. pu' pu' // Then they came, // There, Yaperiko-nai // They are watching it throw water. // "What are you doing, grandfather ?" // "No, I throw water like so from the lake", // "Out of the Jaguar-peoples' lake", it says. // "Oh, throw for us to see".. "Ho" // It takes, throws, but the lake doesn't empty out. // "I heard you say.. // " 'No-owner-Jaguar-peoples'-lake' you said as you threw" ... "Oh so it was, 'No-owner-Jaguar-peoples'-lake' Tchiaaaaa pa ! He sees the water go out.[5] // Oh... // They jump into the lake, // The three of them. // They shit in its lake. // Then they take a gourd and make fart bubbles.. pǔpǔ // "Oh, your asshole" // "Not my anus.. // "No anus do I have", it says, "Only a hole here in my neck" // "Oh, one of our kin has a good thing, it makes peoples' colons", Yaperikuli says. // They make a hole for it.. // They take a spear and stick it through from one end out its neck... dead, // Dead was the sarapó fish. // They kill in payment. // Oooh.. they left it. // Until.. they meet up with, // They meet this spiny hedgehog. // It chips pieces off black brazilwood, tshiu.. tshiu.. tshiu.. // "No-owner-Jaguar-peoples'-black-brazilwood" Tshiu tshiu // They came there, they came and heard. // They arrive: "What are you working on, grandfather ?" // "I chip the black tree" // "Oh, chip for us to see" // It chips.. // Its claws didn't go in ! // "We heard you say: // " 'No-owner-Jaguar-peoples'-black-brazilwood tree', we heard you say" // "Oh, so it was" "Ha ! Chip it !" // "No-owner-Jaguar-peoples'-tree" Tshiu-tshiutshiutshiu Ha ! He sees it chip // Hedgehog takes and puts on its coat of spines.. PAAALILILILI !! // "No way you can kill me", it says, "*No* way.. // "No way you can kill me", it says.. // "You can't.." // "One place only they made you can kill me at the little bridge of my nose", it says. // "Hmmm ? So it is" // Then they return to kill. // "Where is it they made to kill you, grandfather ?" "Up here" It shows with its paw. // "HERE !!" TAWWHH !! // He'd killed in payment.. dead // Oooh.. They went on // Then they met the little sloth, *paapali*[6] // It was eating their plants, those urucú plants, in an old, old village. // "No-owner-Jaguar-peoples'-urucú-plants" Agh ! Little sloth ate.// It hears Yaperikuli coming // Little sloth takes urucú, // And paints its eyes, // Ahh, how red are little sloth's eyes. // Then they come, "What are you working on, grandfather ?" // "I've been crying.. I cry for my dead affines who have been killed", it says. //"CAN IT BE !! " "Yes" // "Look at my rotting eyes so much have I cried for my affines", it says. // "Hey, so it seems", they left from killing it. // They went on.. // They went on.. until.. // Then they met the tapir // They watched it kick // The abacate fruit-tree in their plantation TAAA !! fruits fell.. // They go, "What are you working on, grandfather ?" // "I kick the abacate", it says. // "On, kick it for us to see," they say. "Ho" // It doesn't kick right. // No abacate fell down. // "Oohh ? We heard you say, "No-owner-Jaguar-peoples'-abacate-tree', we heard you say as you kicked", they say. // "Yes so it was" "On,kick it" "No-owner-Jaguar-peoples'-abacate" PA ! TA ! Puulululululu.. fruits fell.. "Ah, that's it " // "Let's go see where it kicked, our grandfather" // They fetch as they go, // Deep into the hole where it kicked, // They put her thorns, their poison-darts to stay, ni-Amaru's thorn into the hole ? // They return, "On, grandfather, kick it for us to see" // It ran and kicked hard.. TAAA !! "PAUGH !!" // Tik'tik'tik' Tapir ran away..... // It went to lie down at the bank of a lake on a hill // Once more it ran...... To Tucunaré lake and lay down again. // It ran..... Until it came out at the Quiary River // There it died. //

III. And so they killed in payment everyone... // Until they had finished. // They'd finished their killing-payments on everyone...// On... // "There is nothing they can do to theYaperiko-nai, all the World-ones" // "There is nothing they can do", they say // "Hey, so it is" // They became elders..// All grown-up // Then, ... he made a garden, // This Ĕnú̂mere, // It is done and the dry season appears well ! // "Hey ! Let's go set fire to it !" they say, "Ho" // They went, they burned the new garden, // "Go over there in the middle", he says to them and makes them go. // Ĕnú̂mere would kill them and runs to set fire to the garden and the fire approaches tǐtǐtǐtǐ tǐ... // He comes back and calls, "Heyyyyy..." // "Heyyy, you will burn..."// "We will never burn, we are Yaperiko-nai we are", they say, "We don't burn ever." // They carried an ambaúba-tree to the middle of the garden and made a hole at the top. // Eeeee, the fire burns quickly to the middle, it approaches tǐtǐtǐtǐtǐ.. It made an Inferno, as they say. // They went inside the ambaúba and closed it off. // The fire burned ! ..// FIERCELY the fire came !! // Then the ambaúba shot, PA !! // That's all, one came out. // Quickly another, PA !! // Later another, PA !!

Three of them. // They lived. // "Why does he work with us like so, our 'fathers' ?" they say, // "We ourselves are the Yaperiko-nai... this cannot be." // They come on the trail // Then there comes one crying, there comes another one // They catch a turtle, // He comes on the trail. // Then there was a tree with ribs which were HUGE !! // They catch the turtle // "How will it be ? They have burned, all grown-up they were, all grown-up", he says, crying. // He comes and throws the turtle onto the tree-ribs Fiuuuhhh..TAA !! // Thus the turtle's shell is turned inside, the rib-cage, you know ? // TOOWHH ! Dead it is ! // They stayed watching him, Yaperikuli // They got tobacco, they blew spells, they blew over their 'fathers' // They descend ahead of him..// At the port they bathe in the water. // Later, he came to the port crying.. // "How is it !?" he says. // "You did not burn ?" "We never burn, we are the World-ones, Yaperiko-nai, you didn't leave us to burn", they say. // They stayed bathing, "Heyy", they laughed, they had arrived. // Thus it was." //

Notes

[1] Doimeni are all the animals that lived in the woods, in the ancient times, who walked over the earth, killing and eating people.

[2] 'Their fathers' (N̂ǎněrīkána) is used to refer to 'stepfather'. Ĕnú̂mere is not really Y.'s father, since the Doimeni killed Y.'s real parents. The 'grandmother', Ĕnú̂mere's wife, is a real person but in some other versions, the person is Y.'s elderly 'aunt' (Likoiro).

[3] The bone is from one of the people Ĕnú̂mere ate, probably Yaperikuli's parent. The bone was from the little finger and there were three pieces.

[4] Yaperiku-nai is the collective term for the three-persons-in-one. Just as there are three pieces of a finger joined together, Yaperiku-nai refers to the collective three. Yaperikuli is the singular actor.

[5] A formula which all the animals whom Yaperiku-nai meet, say. Doimeni had previously killed off all the owners of the objects, hence 'no-owner'. Jaguar-people refers to a particular tribe to which Yaperikuli's kin belonged. Yaperikuli's 'killing-payments' are undertaken against the Doimeni for having killed off the other Jaguar-people.

[6] There is humor in this episode: a ridiculous little sloth saying magic words as it eats the urucú (Bixa orellana)

[7] Hi-Amaru's thorn, the poisonous tail of the stingray fish (Dăkắthá).

M.2.0. Yaperíkuli Kills Kūnáûĕri, Payment for His Younger Brother (Summary).

Introduction. This myth is told most often to explain how fish-poison and fish-poison plants began. It continues the struggles recounted in M.1.0, for in this story, the animal-tribes return to kill Yaperikuli's younger brother. Afterwards, however, Yaperikuli succeeds in remaking his younger brother in the form of the Harpy eagle, which then accomplishes a vengeance-payment against its killers. The animal-tribe is called the "children of Kūnáûĕri", who is an old man sometimes equated with Ĕnû́mere of M.1.0. The tribe ~~are~~ the affines of Yaperikuli for one of their daughters is married to Y.'s younger brother.

Summary. Kūnáûĕri's children kill Y.'s y'er brother, transform him into a surubí-fish and prepare to roast and eat his body. Y. knows of the killing, goes to their roasting-place, and succeeds in taking away his y'er brother's heart. With it, he will transform his y'er brother into the Harpy Eagle which will take vengeance. Y. later goes to his affines' house and sees that they eat his y'er brother's flesh. The sheer treachery of the affines is emphasized in Y.'s y'er brother's wife's offer of his y'er brother's flesh to Y. to eat. Yaperikuli grieves over the loss and is angry at his affines, yet he conceals his anger.

Later, Y. goes to Hipana, where he cooks his y'er brother's heart. As he cooks it, it transforms into a Harpy eagle. Each time he cooks a bit more, larger and larger hawks appear, but still the largest one has not yet shown. Y.'s grief becomes so overwhelming, it becomes anger; he shits a huge turd and blows spells on it, saying to the hawks, "thus will you seek your vengeance." White foam arose from the bucket in which the heart cooked, and the body of the huge Harpy eagle stepped out. Y. sends the Harpy to carry three of the heaviest trees, flying around in great circles to demonstrate its strength and to show that it is ready to accomplish its vengeance-payment.

Seeing that it is ready, Y. makes the Harpy small again by blowing tobacco on it. Y.'s design then will be to get the daughters of Kūnáûĕri to want the little Harpy for a pet. Through a series of transformations, the Harpy will stay with Kūnáûĕri, whom it will kill. First, Y. makes rain fall (It was raining during the narration which heightened the sense of action). Next, Y. takes an urucú fruit, breaks it open and makes saúva ants fly, for they fly during the rains. Then he sends scissors-tail hawks flying out to eat the ants. Y. then returns to his affines' house, carrying his y'er brother's body, the little Harpy. One of Kūnáûěri's daughter's sees the pet and pleads with Y. to let her have it for her own to raise. He gives it to her willingly. Then he sends many saúva ants out flying, and the daughters are attracted by the sight of them. They run to catch the ants. Y. tells them that the Harpy likes to eat them. They catch the ants and give them to their pet. They can't take the Harpy with them so they leave it on their father's arm. It grows larger and climbs up Kūnáûěri's arm. It grows, climbs, and the daughters go far away.

Y.'s actions then become mixed with foil. This is part of the design so that it seems as though he has no part in killing Kūnáûěri. Having cut down the forest to make bows, there is no wood left to make another. Y. tries to shoot K. with blowgun arrows, but they all miss. The Harpy shits on K.'s head and flies away, while the old man calls for his daughters to return. They yell at Y. who does not know what's going on . His arrows miss the Harpy and hit Kūnáûěri. Y. denies that he wanted to kill K. but the Harpy flies away to eat him in Venezuela. As the old man dies, he urinates and it becomes fish-poison vines.

Comments. The drama is artfully woven in this narration. Each action which Y. takes to get vengeance is undertaken in ordered, carefully completed steps. This pattern of action is difficult for narrators to replicate. Other narrators who told this story sometimes had difficulty in remembering the exact order of action and had to backtrack on occasion to correct themselves. Other narrators to whom I played my cassette-recording of this myth stated that they could not tell it as well as Keramunhe and they admired Keramunhe's certainty in narration, showing their delight in the narrative's powerful drama and impact.

M.2.0. Yaperikuli Kills Kūnáûěri, Payment for His Younger Brother (Narrated by Keramunhe, Hohodene elder of Kuliriana village, with comments by his son John in parentheses).

"So it was they killed them, ... // Kūnáûěri's children, * Kūnáûěri's children * (Kill him) kill him, // (Yaperikuli's younger brother) Yaperikuli's younger brother.// They put poison in the river there to kill surubí-fish // They shoot him and he transforms for them into a surubí-fish // They carried it... they carry it to their roasting-place at Surubí-house [1]// They made a great roast there. // This Yaperikuli he knows.. // Rain falls like now, and he puts out his hand.. // Mát ! Tà out it comes, blood falls, // "Paaahhh ! They killed my younger brother", he says. // Their affines they are !![2]// He went there..., he went to see, // To see they'd killed his younger brother // He saw their great roast. // He transformed into a little black bee......// It goes to get his heart. // It gets it, // And carries it away. // They see it carrying the heart, they strike at it , with wood they strike, dakadakadaka.... // Already it left them. // It carried away his heart... //

In the early morning, he goes there. To his wife's, his younger brother's wife's place. // They are there, those her kin. // He arrives.. //

"You there ?" "Yes father" // "Is my younger brother here ?" he says. // "We thought he went to see you" she says to him. // "You see him ?" "No, not here" // She roasts the surubí-fish.. // For him his younger brother (it is her husband) it is her husband, Yaperikuli's younger brother. // "Pah ! So it is."// "Not here, there he will know", Yaperikuli says. // "It seems then.. lucky we are", she says. // She goes to get for him his younger brother's flesh. // She sets it down for him. // "Come eat", she says. // "Yes", he says. // He takes it, hides it and eats bread. //

"I know that will be enough in my stomach", he says. // "Thanks", he says. // "Ho" She takes it away, "Good" //"Paaaahh !! They killed my younger brother !" he says. // He had seen that they had killed !! // That was what he went to see !! // There, at her place, she his wife. // Already, he returned... //

Like so, soon after, in the shadow of one week... // Then he makes rain fall like so (right now) right now // He would kill, it seems, in payment. // He goes to make the Harpy Kamathawa[3] // His younger brother it seems ! // he would cook his heart, // Over there at Hipana. //

He cooked. // First appears then a small hawk. // He cooks it.......//

It sings: "Ûia ûia ûia ûia ûia ûia.." // This Kamathawa, // A little tiny one. // Soon after he cooked more..., a big-winged hawk, Makapalípem. // Soon after he cooked more...., another large one, Katchipoapan // Soon after he cooks... white hawk, Hāawa. // That's all, they'd finished. // "Ah no.." // "Paaahh ! So sad I am for my younger brother" he says //

"How is it ?" he says. // Now it will be he cooks once more..........., // Then,.. He shits ! He shits it seems ! // HHAAAAWTAH !! It drops ! [4]// Then truly he gets up and blows tobacco on it, fiuuu .. "Likesolikeso-likesolikeso", he says, "You look for your payment like so" he says.// The Harpy came out on his arm.. TAIN !! // White foam came out.. // Then the great song: "ÛIA ÛIA ÛIA ûia ûia ûia" it says. // It flies back round here........// It came down Tik "tik" .. // "Carry these !" he says, about a brazil wood. // It gets up and grabs the wood, aaaTSAK !! // It flies up with it, "ÛIA ûia ûia ûia ûia..." // It flies back around..........with it... // It comes back down and drops it, TIH !! And grabs aaaTSAK ! a black brazil wood. // It flies up.......... TIH ! aaTSAK ! An inajá wood another. // "Ûia ûia ûia ûia ûia ûia", It flies back around with it.....and lands. // "Oh.. you are ready" he says // "You are ready for your payment, now it will be", he says. // He blows tobacco on it.. Fiuuuuuuuuuu Tain.. like so little it became, so little. //

On, // Ready to do it.. // He made rain fall like so, like now.// (Yaperikuli makes rain) Yaperikuli makes rain // It comes up like so, // Then he makes the winged saúva ants [5]// He takes an urucú seed and breaks it open and they fly !! // Kaiwĭrĭ-wǎpen gũûe-wǎpen. // "On, now I go to the woods", he says. // He went walking.. // As the Sun gets high, then the saúvas fly out. // Soon after them, he comes back and arrives.. // Those Kaiwĭrĭ ants flew // As the Kaiwiri go, then the scissors-tail hawks come. // They ate the ants. // Yaperikuli arrives and stays, // He returned with them // "How is it ?" "I found nothing", he says. // He carries the little one then, // This, his younger brother's body, [6]// He takes it off and sets it down, // In a little leaf covering [7] // "What's that for, Yaperiko ?" says she, his wife. //"Hey ? For my pet" he says. // "Whose child is it ?" "I don't know whose it is. It's a good little one !" // "Heeyy" She goes to take it from him. // "Careful with it", he says. // "I will raise it" she says, she her youngest sister.. // "I will take care of it.."// "I have none of my own.." // "Never will I.." // "I raise it. " // She takes it away, she her youngest sister. // "I will treat it well", she says. // "Treat it well" he says // They come soon after, they come down those hawks to eat the saúva ants // Those scissors-tail hawks //

"What are those ?" he says. They run to look, they watch them, they watch them, they watch them over there. // "So..then.. what do they eat ?" // She calls and gets the little one, // With the leaf covering, she runs to get it and go watch.. Tzishhh, they went ! // She catches a few and comes back. // "What are these, Yaperiko ?" she says. // "Hey ? Saúva ants", he says, "Kūûe they are." "Ah Kūûe they are." // "They eat them, they're good !" // They go and catch them. // They come back to set down some for this, his pet. // Jaguar Kămáthăwă. // It eats, "Kawkawkaw", "Ah well it eats" Once again they catch some and bring them back for it. // They bring back for it, they bring back for it,.. // Then he sends many Kūûe out flying // The women go away from him, // As for the little one, there was no way the women could take it, so they made it stay there, on their father's arm. // This one, her pet. // Then it was that it would kill, // Biiigger it grew, // Uuuuup it went, // Faaaar away were the people. // Biiigger it grew, // Uuuuup it went, // On.. //

This Yaperikuli went to cut wood for a blowgun.. // He went to cut wood for a bow, // But there was no wood !? // He had cut all the trees [8]// On... // He ran this Yaperikuliiiiiii, in front of them. // "They are here", he says, calling the women away. // "They are here !! Come here !!" he says. // Ooh, the people went there.. // Those.. Daughters of Kūnáûĕri ! * Daughters of Kūnáûĕri * // They run and catch them.. Dzishhh ! // This Kamathawa came up..Hátata ! Its claws grab him ! // On his head, HAAATAAHHH !! // It SHITS on him, TAIN !! // HAAAA ! Then it flew up and away......... // Then it was, "ÛIA ûia ûia ûia ûia" Tik ' tik ' // It flies with him and flies back around......... //"COME BACK QUICKLY ALREADY YOUR PET KILLS !!" he says. // They hear him, those his children. // They come back running. He runs to get his poison-darts [9]// That is, the poison of those elders. // He blows.. Hát ' Tsà. the dart falls // He takes the blowgun.. the arrow flies.. // No way it could go.. // TAIN ! It lands on the Center beam of the House. // They call Yaperikuli..// They call.. they call "WHAT IS IT !?" he says. //"ALREADY YOUR PET KILLS FATHER !!" they say to him // Then he makes it go truly with him.. // It flies up and away with him.. // Yaperikuli runs and takes an arrow.. // Yaperikuli shoots...and hits that same one, this one, // the person Kūnáûĕri.. Kūnáûĕri he shoots him..// He slaps the gun.. It goes up and hits that same one. //"FATHER YOU SHOT HIM !! I DID NOT SHOOT THE HAWK" he says, "I did not shoot the hawk !!" // Then it carries him.........// There to the Iniridá River * To the Iniridá River // Thus it is it goes to eat him there * there * On the Iniridá River. // For then.. he left this fish-poison Kūna, those fever-giving things. // He left his urine the fish-poison Kūna, // His urine. // Those fish poison plants are his ankles, // Kūnấŭĕri's ankles. // That poison Dálūma is his head, his head. // This then, called Hiwa is his testicle. // Kūda is his testicle also. // Wĕpĭri, his testicle. // That's what he left. // It seems he left his sickness-giving , lipoaminawa. // It is curare, that poison. // He had killed him.. // Yaperikuli killed Kūnấŭĕri. // His younger brother's payment. // That's all, it went to eat him there and that's all * // That's all." //

Notes

1 A small rapids on the Aiary River, several turns above Hipana.

2 Yaperikuli's younger brother married a daughter of Kūnấŭĕri. Kūnấŭĕri's children are also the tribe of animals (Ītchiri-nai).

3 Kămathawa-wapéna (in the original narration) , the suffix connoting 'original ones' implying all hawks or eagles of a family. Yaperikuli transforms his younger brother's heart into the body of a Harpy and the harpy will take vengeance on the affines.

4 The mimic of Y.'s shitting provoked laughter from some listeners, as 'the humour of the elders.' But Y.'s following action, sorcery-blowing-to-get-vengeance immediately changes the mood to tense excitement.

5 Saúvas have two names, Kaiwiri and Kūûe; the significance of the use of the two is not yet clear. The saúvas fly out of their ground nests in may during the heavy rainy season.

6 Mīdáki, 'younger brother's body' is the nearest translation I can make.

7 Thūrēpali (little leaf) are leaves used also in making beer.

8 Kamathawa has already carried away the wood which is needed for the bows.

9 Yaperikuli will make as if to shoot the Harpy eagle but his arrows 'miss' and instead hit Kūnấŭĕri.

M.2.1. Yaperikuli Kills the Chief of the Eenu-nai (Summary).

Eenu-nai literally means "Sky-people" and refers to a tribe of people who have the bodies of animals, specifically various kinds of monkeys. They have a chief named Wǐthǐnáûeri who lives in a sieve or strainer; it cannot walk and must be carried by others. The Eenu-nai of this story are, like the animal "children of Kunáûeri", Yaperikuli's affines. Once more they come back and try to kill Yaperikuli.

They ask their sister, Y.'s wife, where they would sleep that night. She tells them and they go. Y. knows of their intent, however, and secretly prepares for their coming by making ten arrows, a complete set to fill his quiver. He hides one other arrow well within the blowgun. He will kill the chief with the hidden arrow, while the set of ten will prove to his wife and kin that he did not kill Wǐthǐnáûeri.

Y. hears the Eenu-nai coming, singing as they come. Suddenly he breaks open his body and lays it in a hammock around the fireplace. It appears as if Y. is sleeping while he actually waits hidden elsewhere. Wǐthǐnáûeri sees Y.'s body by the fire and spits out a stone from his mouth at it. The stone falls away and falls down on the earth. Suddenly Y. jumps out from hiding and blows his gun, killing Wǐthǐnáûeri in an instant. The other Eenu-nai run home in fear and without their chief.

Y. takes away the chief's sieve and lies down as if asleep and nothing had happened. He blows spells over his wife to ensure that she would not know how the chief was killed. She wakes up and hears her kin making a horrible racket with their grieving for the chief. She awakens Y. who appears dumb. She asks why her kin are crying and he sends her to see for he does not know. They tell her what had happened; she doesn't know how for she only saw Y. make ten arrows the day before. They insist, crying in anger, and shouting that Y. had killed the chief. She returns and counts the arrows but finds all ten were there.

Eenu-nai inter their chief and Y. comes to grieve with them. Y. does not know how it will be for the Eenu-nai who must live forever more in the world without a chief. The Eenu-nai are many kinds of monkey and they differ from the sloths. Sloths began with Kuai, they are "Kuai's shadow" and represent Kuai (See Note 5 following the text and the Kuai myth in Part III.). Sloths are poison-owners, their hair is full of venom which was left for them when Kuai was burned long ago.

M.2.1. Yaperikuli Kills the Chief of the Eenu-nai (Narrated by Keruami, Hohodene elder of Hipana village).

"Now, .. You Eenu-nai, // She goes, she their youngest sister, // With Jaguar Yaperikuli. // They come to see her at Hipana. // Wǐthǐnáûeri. // They come those Eenu-nai. // "Where are you going to sleep ?" they say. // "Aah, we sleep at the House-of-Arrows." // Yaperikuli returns.. // And makes arrows.. // "Ah, now they come here " // "Let's go, let's kill Yaperikuli" they say. // "Ho" says this chief of the animals. // Their chief, the animals' chief. // He lived inside his cumatá.[1] // "Let's go there to kill him." // They come at night. // Yaperikuli lies down, // In his hammock. // He made ten arrows, // Two hands of arrows as I say in my language. // Yaperikuli takes one other // And hides it there in his blowgun. // Closes it off, well ! // Then they come like so, her kin the Eenu-nai: // "Tsétsètsétsè.." // Where is Yaperikuli ? He is not sleeping. // HITSIIII !! // Yaperikuli takes off,.. cuts open, // His body. // He puts it lying around the fireplace. // Yaperikuli takes it off but goes to await apart. // He lays his shirt in a hammock [2] // He stays apart, watching it lying down.// "Let's kill him", says one of the Eenu-nai. // The Eenu-nai chief spits out a stone. // WITH A STONE HE WOULD KILL YAPERIKULI. // Ffffooohh.. Háa ' Tsà.. It flew and landed.. Hát 'tà, pūu, on the earth // Then it was that Yaperikuli blows his gun.. put' MAÁAA " TSÀ !! // Dead, their chief. // "Heyheyheyalready he kiiilled.." they returned, pap'p'p'p.. // Into their house. // The Eenu-nai.. //
Ready then.. // He takes the cumatá, // And lies down asleep, // He lies down asleep. // He blows spells over his wife, he blows over her, she awakes and sits up, // She hears her kin crying there. What a noise they made !! // They cried. // Then she wakes Yaperikuli up..// "Yaperiko ! " "Hmm ?" // "Huh ?" // "How is it now that my kin are crying, do you hear ?" // "Go and see." // He sends his wife to see her kin. // "How is it with you, my kin ?" // "How do you speak ?" // "Your husband killed this one of ours, Yaperikuli killed us, how then ?" // Lying there, their chief, by them. // "I did not see him make the arrows yesterday", she says. // "YOOUUURRR HUSBAND KILLED, KILLED HIM !!"//

"Ha ! I go back to see." // "*Did* you kill, *Yaperikuli* ?" "No" // She gets the quiver of arrows and counts them... // Ten. // All of them came out, well ! // The arrows came out, that's *all* there were. // There was no other, but it *was he* who had killed ! //
The Eenu-nai, // Already they interred their chief. // Their house, the Eenu-nai. // They begin all of them: // Black monkeys, big-bellied monkey, howler monkey, acarí, little black monkey, white monkey [3]// They begin the Eenu-nai, // The chief of them, // The chief of *all* of them. // "Hooo,.. already dead. " // "So now how will it be ?" // Already they interred their chief. // Then... // He grieved with them, Yaperikuli. // "How will it be now, younger brother ?" // "I don't know", says Yaperikuli. // So they *said* !// LONG AGO ! // They began for us the Eenu-nai, // the Eenu-nai. // Then, there is that one, the black sloth [4] // Black sloth is different. // Kuai's shadow is the black sloth [5] // Kuai's shadow is the black sloth. // Kuai's hair entered in it, this black sloth, but is *different*. // Little white sloth [6] // The black sloth, also. // Kuai's fur entered into that same one, they began the black sloths *all of them*. // All of them ! Different, for they have their sicknesses. // The venom-owners. // Thus it is. // "So it is" Yaperikuli says. // "That's all now I've begun them", he says.// They return. "//

Notes

[1] *Cumatá* (*lingua geral*) or *liarũna* (Baniwa) is a sieve or strainer, made of woven basketry with very fine strips. It's the chief's 'bed' as one person said, for he could not walk. *Cumatá* is used usually to strain manioc.

[2] *Likamítsa*, his shirt, is the 'skin' or 'shell' of Y.'s body.

[3]

Translation	Baniwa	Identification
Black Monkey	Pũwe	Cebus fatuellus
Big-bellied Monkey	Kāparo	Lagothrix olivaceus
Howler Monkey	Ītchī	Myeetes
Acarí	Tchītchī	Pithecia Ouakary
Little black monkey	Pĭthĭpĭthĭ	?
" " " " "	Wŭki	Callithrix spec.
White monkey	Hălu	Cebus gracilis Spix.

[4] *Wamu* (Baniwa), *Bradypus spec.*

[5] "Shadow" (*Idanami*) is different from the original but receives from the original certain traits (See Part III.C.2. for a complete discussion of the notion of shadow relationships).

[6] Little white sloth (*Tchítamali*) was described to me as a beautiful sloth with a tuft of red hair on its head. In all my researches in books on sloths, and inquiries to sloth specialists in Manaus, the animal appears to be "unknown to science". Hohodene say they have only seen it in Colombia.

M.2.2. Eenu-nai's Drinking Fest and the Death of Yaperikuli's Younger Brother, Maweríkuli (Summary).

Introduction. This myth is told to explain how death began in the world for people today. Through a series of mistakes, Y.'s younger brother, named Maweríkuli, began misfortune and death. The figure of Mawerikuli is, according to the Baniwa, of Cubeo origin. However, all the references to Mawerikuli in shamans' songs, spells, etc. are so firmly tied-in with Baniwa story-lines, that it is futile to find a direct borrowing from Cubeo traditions. The nearest similarity perhaps is to the Cubeo 'Spirit of Death and Evil.'

Summary.

1.) The Eenu-nai tricked Y.'s younger brother and obtained the venom which Y. had.

2.) Later the Eenu-nai invite Y. to drink with them at their house. They prepare beer mixed with venom for they wished to kill Y.

3.) Y. joins together all the people of his tribe, called *Kuainyai*. He announces that they would go to get back the venom. Their elderly aunt blesses the remedy to protect them against the venom. The remedy is a little gourd-fruit.

4.) All the *Kuainyai* drink this remedy. Mawerikuli says he will not go with them. Later he follows them but without having drunk any remedy.

5.) Y. and the others go and approach the Eenu-nai house, asking if the venom is there. Eenu-nai respond that it is. They give Y. and the others to drink.

6.) They drank so much that they hardly could last through the night until dawn. Then they return home.

7.) Halfway back, Y. could not bear the effects of having drunk so much venom. He lies down dead but before he does, he sets his owl-feather headdress on the top of a tree.

8.) Eenu-nai come and call out to see if Y. had died. The owl headdress responds to their call with "Heyyy !" Twice the Eenu-nai call and the headdress responds thus making Eenu-nai believe Y. had not died.

9.) Suddenly Y. revives and returns home to get more remedies from their aunt. He distributes them among all the Kuainyai who had gone.

10.) Mawerikuli arrives and asks for his share of remedies. Having said he would not go, there are no remedies for him. M. dies.

11.) Y. takes M.'s body and puts it in a closed-off rock grave house. They await three days and on the fourth, Y. goes to see. M. has revived, is better, and can come out from the grave. First, however, Y. will prepare a festival to celebrate M.'s coming-out. Y. goes to hunt for game.

12.) When Y. had gone, an other woman went to see M.'s grave. She arrives, opens the grave and sees M. sit up and talk.

13.) M. reminds her that no-one can see him until Y. has brought him out of the grave. Whoever sees M. must paint him with red caraiurú. The woman assures M. that she knows where to obtain the paint and goes to fetch it.

14.) She returns and begins to paint M., a beautiful red all over his body. On the final stroke of her hand, she turns it over, to palm-side up and Mawerikuli falls down dead, nothing but bones.

15.) Y. knows M. has died, returns running and sits by M.'s bones. He tries to put the bones together, to remake a person. M. almost revived but falls down again. Y. could not do it and M. would suffer no more.

16.) Death was given to descendants from then on, for all future times. Y. returned and cried in anger at the woman.

Comments. What in particular interests people about this myth ? It is an ever-so-common story in religions of the world. One mission-educated person compared it specifically with the Biblical story of God's banishment of Adam and Eve from Paradise. It is the sense of error and irreversible mistakes: M. said he would not go to the fest and then, for some unknown reason, does. The other woman opens M.'s grave but this is redeemable if she paints him well which she does. When she turned over her hand, palm-side up, people explained, this symbolized the "other side", "the side of evil","the side of the demon"(Inyaime).

Another ending could be given to the story. One narrator said that while the woman was painting M., he molests and has sex with her. He was prohibited from doing this since he was in seclusion. After doing this, he falls down nothing but bones. (The mimic of the falling in the text is equivalent to the mimic of Kuai's paxiuba tree falling to the earth after it has been broken. See The Myth of Kuai, Part III.) If it hadn't been so, people say that everyone today would have arisen four days after their 'deaths.'

The narrator, Mándu, is a shaman, a chief and a skilled orator. His style in telling myths often reflects these facts. As an orator, for example, there is a tendency to repeat the same thing two or three times over, wording it each time slightly differently before completing the thought. This is an effective way of getting the point across, yet makes the transcribing of lines seem longer than for other narrators. As a shaman, there are several 'typical' thoughts which come across: the emphases on 'the unforturate one', the 'evil one', and the other woman as 'unknowing.'

M.2.2. Eenu-nai's Drinking Fest and the Death of Yaperikuli's Younger Brother, Maweríkuli (Narrated by Mándu, Hohodene chief of Hipana village)[1].

"Yaperikuli goes to where he lives then, Warúkoa [2]// It's called the dwelling-place of Yaperikuli, Warúkoa // Then the Eenu-nai return and invite Yaperikuli. // He would go to get back this Eenu-nai venom [3]// Three days after, he would go there. // "Now Yaperiko, you come drink with us there", they say to him. // They would kill this Yaperikuli. // Then Yaperikuli joins together those, his Kuainyai [4]// His people.// For they are called Kuainyai, // Kuainyai all of them. // "Now it will be we go to get back this venom", he says to them. // Then he calls them, calls them and sees his Kuainyai. // He joins all of his Kuainyai. // Then after he joins them, he speaks to them, // "How many of you are going ?" says she their elderly aunt. // Then there is this little gourd-fruit.[5]// This, his gourd-fruit, Jaguar Yaperikuli. // He gives them a little gourd-fruit. // This is their venom-getting-back remedy. // She counts out for them.. // She counts out for everyone, all who will go to see. // Then she asks this one, Yaperikuli's younger brother: // "Are you going, nephew ?" she says to him. // Then he says, "I am not going." // But this is how he spoke. // Then he lies in his hammock, after he spoke. // After resting, he goes after they go, he goes after they and Yaperikuli have gone. // Then this Yaperikuli comes to the Eenu-nai house. // Now he comes to enter into their house.. // He comes to strike the house-door: // "Palenaaa Where is the Eenu-nai venom ?" he says like so. // "Here it is now", they say, responding to Yaperikuli. // Then, that's all, they gave drink to Yaperikuli. //

For, he was getting back from them this, then.. // Eenu-nai venom, it is called Eenu-nai venom. // Then after this, that's all, they drink with him. // He drinks among them, those Kuainyai with him also. // Until..... the middle of the night .. Hardly does he last to the day, Yaperikuli ! // Until... he was full of drink. // When he was full of drink, then he returns, // He returns, Yaperikuli. // Until the middle.. near the middle of the trail... that's all, Yaperikuli was dead. // Then his head-dress, this one of owl feathers, of owl feathers. // He took it off and placed it on top of a tree. // Eenu-nai come, call out and listen: // "YAPERIKOOOOO" "HEEEYYYYY" it responds [6] // "So it seems he has not died" they say the Eenu-nai. // Once again they call out and hear: // "YAPERIKOOOOO" "HEEEYYY" it responds. // "Not dead" // But this Yaperikuli already had died. // Then suddenly he gets up and returns to his house.. // On.. he comes to their aunt and asks of their aunt this remedy. // Then she distributes those, her plants to them.. // She gives to one, to another, and to another.. // Everyone of them, however many of those Kuainyai, // She distributes to *all* of them. // They had finished their drinking when he came, this Yaperikuli's younger brother, // Mawerikuli appears, this Mawerikuli, // He appears and looks, this Mawerikuli, the unfortunate one. // It began with him. // He first did for us this misfortune, for all of us people. // For all of the white people also. // Only *one* first did it this Mawerikuli. // Then he sees there what they have. // He comes and asks from her.. // "Aunt, where is mine ?" // Then she says, she his aunt, "This vomit-inducer ?" she says to him. // "Yes" he says. // "But you told me 'I am not going', you said to me.. // "There is none for you", she says to him. // That's all, now it happeeeennnss... // Dead he was there, this Yaperikuli's younger brother, // Dead he is, then, dead he is. // Until they take him, take this Mawerikuli. // Then they make him lay down... // Yaperikuli goes and makes him lie in a grave [7]// A grave, then, he made a grave for him.// Then he closes it off, well ! // They began with this Mawerikuli. // Then, after this, he lies like so three days, Mawerikuli lies down. // On the fourth day, it seems, he goes to see him, Yaperikuli goes to see. // "So younger brother", he says.. // "Is it that you have revived ?" he says to him.. // "Yes, I have revived", he says to him.. // "Mawerikuli is good, it is good", he says.. // "So it seems, tomorrow it will be, I raise you", he says to Mawerikuli. // Then he goes hunting, // Yaperikuli goes to look for an animal, // He would make for him this.. // His coming-out festival, it seems [8] // Then they did a bad thing to him, those women. // But he had gone it seems. // Then she says, she Yaperikuli's wife: // "Now we go make for us manioc beer", she says to them, // "For Yaperikuli's younger brother will return, " // "He will make come out his younger brother", she says, she Yaperikuli's wife. // Then she says, "Yes, he is already well." // Then another woman says, // "I am going to see", she says, she another woman, // "I am going quickly to see Yaperikuli's younger brother", she says like so. // Then she goes and opens the stone-house.. // There she opens, opens, opeeennss.. // When she opens the house, there she looks.. // She sees Mawerikuli lying down, // She sees Mawerikuli sit up, // "Hey" // Well he spoke, Mawerikuli, // Already he revived. // After he spoke, he turns around and looks, Mawerikuli, // "Paah ! It is not given that you see me", he says to them, the women, // "Who sees me has to paint me with caraiuru, it is so", he says to them [9]// Then.. "Yes, I have caraiuru", she says, she the woman. // He turns to face her. // "We have seen it there, there on Yaperikuli's grave-house." // Then Yaperikuli's wife comes in.. // "Why do you see me ? Yaperikuli did not allow for any to see me", Mawerikuli says. // Then she says to them, the others, she Yaperikuli's wife, // "Good to see him, well-painted with caraiuru", she says. // Then, "Good, good will it be for I have caraiuru", she says. // Then she works the caraiuru, she paints his body, well ! // A beautiful red ! // Then he says, "As he hears, so he rises", he says to them [10]// They work, painting him with caraiuru, // Well ! Mawerikuli is ready, everything, everything.. // Then, she the woman with caraiuru turns her hand over. // Then, "A bit of caraiuru there below", she says. // Then suddenly he goes ! // So Mawerikuli falls down, // Thus she killed // When he died, it went to Yaperikuli [11]//

; so Mawerikuli falls down; KYEluluululululu... // There his bones lie, thus Mawerikuli began, // Already again, then, misfortune for him. // It gets to Yaperikuli who had gone to look for an animal.. // Then, where Yaperikuli is, it comes to show.. // Soon, in his hand, new blood falls.. // "Paah ! They killed my younger brother", Yaperikuli says. // Then he returns running, Yaperikuli. // There he returned.. //

He goes to where the bones lie; // He goes to blow spells over them, Yaperikuli; // He tries to make a person appear. // He picks up the bones and puts them together.. // Untiiill, he almost made like a person.. // Then he falls again. // Until he has suffered enough, Mawerikuli. // "Now it is better, better that you leave it as so for me", he says to him; // "As it will be for me, from now on, thus for them, those our descendants", he says to him . // Which means that with us, we live in the world with death. // That's all, he began and saw it for us; // Misfortune. // He left it for us, this misfortune, // It seems he left it. // Then thus it was done: // "Now it stays for them, those our descendants, // "So also it will stay for those our descendants," he says to him, // To him, Yaperikuli. // "So it seems, younger brother, better will it be, thus it will come to them, our descendants", he says to him, this his younger brother Mawerikuli who made it so truly. // Then truly, he gave to us misfortune, with Mawerikuli. // Thus as it was for them, in the same way we have it today. // As it was done, so then, // That one had done evil. // Then that Yaperikuli went back and cried angrily to the woman.. // Nothing he had done, // He could have done it, but they did for him evil, to Yaperikuli. // Thus it is, today, some other women, // Thus it is, they do not know the world. // Everyone is thus, // What we have, this death, is the same way as was begun for them. // But it began with this Mawerikuli. // The World-Governor, // Yaperikuli made the same for us, thus we have here.. // As it began with Mawerikuli long ago. // He first saw it for us." //

Notes

[1] The narrator began the story by summarizing, in a few words, M.1.0, M.2.0, and M.2.1. This synthesis of the three stories shows clearly how the four stories can be related thematically and sequentially.

[2] The name of a rock-island on the Uaraná stream off the upper Aiary.

[3] Another narrator explained that one of the Eenu-nai had tricked Y.'s younger brother into giving over Y.'s poison. When Y. found out, he knew that the Eenu-nai would try to kill him with the venom. Eenu-nai make beer mixing the venom and their hair, which is poisonous. Then they summon Y. to come drink with them.

[4] Kuainyai (Kuai-inyai, Kuai others) are Yaperikuli's tribe composed of many people/spirits. Today, the Kuainyai are manifested in the world as many classes of bees.

[5] Iĩmathoaíya is a gourd which has a little red fruit inside (scientific identification unknown). It is a remedy against Eenu-nai's venom because it is a vomit-inducer.

[6] The narrator explained that Yaperikuli was so full of venom that he died; but this 'death' is a temporary passage because Yaperikuli soon after revives. While 'dead', he sets his owl-feather headdress (Pĩpũlí-pĕ) on top of a tree. When Eenu-nai call to Y. , the headdress responds.

[7] [illegible], grave, is a stone-house, subterranean cavern, inside of which Mawerikuli lays.

[8] Coming-out festival, Iĩmŏtheítăkăreina, is the same kind of festival which is done in initiation. Then , elders make initiates come out of the house of initiation where they have been restricted and secluded for about one month. After the narration of this myth, I asked Mandu to explain the rites of coming-out and he spoke a complete description of initiation rites for children.

[9] Caraiurú (Kĕrăwĩdzū, in Baniwa; extract of the Arrabidea chica plant). In initiation rituals, women paint their about-to-be-initiated sons with caraiuru twice: at the beginning of the fest and just before the initiates come out of the ritual house. However, they are also painted with blue-black genipapo (Dana, danewi in Baniwa; Rhobeacea Palicourea Sp.)

[10] The narrator may have omitted a thought: Before he went hunting, Y. told Mawerikuli that 'when you hear the sound --'Kulu-kulu-kuli'-- you will open the grave of Mawerikuli and he will come out complete with his body'. The noise is the same as an ambaúba-dance-tube as it strikes the ground. It suggests the opening of the coming-out festival; in other myths, it is a sign that there is a direct communication between the spirits and the living.

[11] Mawerikuli's spirit showed Yaperikuli. The Cubeo believe the same (See Goldman, 1963: 267-8).

M.3.0. Yaperikuli Looks for People, the Ancestors of the Hohodene(Summary).

Yaperikuli and the Primal Sun (Hârĕ) looked for people at Hipana on the present day Aiary River. They searched for them from the holes of the place which lead directly to "The World Below" (Wapiná-koa). Before they began searching, Yaperikuli burned the earth in order to rid it of all the sicknesses and sickness-giving beings (forest-spirits, animals, demons, etc.) that there were in that time. Then they looked for the ancestors of people. They stood over the holes of the rapids and as Yaperikuli circles his finger around the rim of the hole in the place, then an ancestor arose. Each sib ancestor arose out of the hole with a Kuai- sacred flute at its head, singing the name of the sib as it arose. There were five sibs, all considered brothers, who arose with the Hohodene among them. The Hohodene arose in the middle of the order and they saw this world at the noonday sun. In the chart below, I have summarized (A) the order of brothers, (B) the sib-names, (C) the names of the Kuai-sacred flutes which are considered the ancestors of each sib, (D) the sacred titles which the Hohodene give to each sib-brother in the phratry of five.

Summary of the Arising of Sib Ancestors, according to the Hohodene.

A.	First Elder Brother	Second Elder Brother	Third Elder Brother	Younger Brothers	Younger Brothers
B.	Maulieni (Wasp-children)	Möle-dakénai (Snake-grand-children)	Hohodene (Partridge children)	Adzanene (Armadillo-children)	Other
C.	Madenhali (Black Wasp)	Möle (Snake)	Bobole (Partridge)	Adzana (Armadillo)	______
D.	"Grandfathers" (Also, Maaku)	Enawi-Nai (The Chiefs; also "the good people.")	The Sun-Children; the Primal Sun children.		

M.3.0. Yaperikuli Looks for People, the Ancestors of the Hohodene (Narrated by Keramunhe, Elder of the Hohodene; with comments of John, his son, in parentheses.)

"It begins then at Hipana. // He looks for us below. // He looks for us below, Yaperikuli, thus it was. // Yaperikuli, * and the Primal Sun. But they are the same (only one) only one. // He looks for us below.....// In the very beginning, in the very beginning , there were sicknesses here, everywhere in the world.. the whole forest, everything... // (People had not come out yet) There were no people. // Then, the rivers, he flooded everything... // Then, he looked for us people... There were no more sicknesses, tocandira ants, biting animals, all those snakes, demons, Inyaime, forest-spirits... He burned it all. // After them, he looked for us people. // So it was in the beginning.. // So it was, he began us.. // In the beginning he looked for us... // For he loked for us. // Then with him, Kuai with him. // Before us they arose then, ... there they live... What are their names ? (Uainuma) Yes ! Uainuma.[2]// Our elders. // Then our elders, another ... (...) .. Maulieni. // After them, Möle-dakenai. // After them, WE WE THE MIDDLE ONES // Then they, our younger brothers, Armadillo-children. // Then they, our younger brothers, another, in the same way. // That's all... that's all.// Then, ... They began with Kuai, it comes out among us (our heads) our heads. // Those ones are Kuai also, .. The Wasp Madenhali. // "Madenhali-madenhali-madenhali-madenhali-madenhali.." Out it came among them[3]// He sent them to stay (those, my grandfathers) my grandfathers. // Maulieni arose. // Then after them, those Möle-grandchildren, // Their ancestor the snake Möle: "Molemole-mole-mole-mole-mole-mole" aaaa..Out it came here. // They wwent to stay, the Énawinai. // After them, WE WE // It came out among us, the Partridge Bobole, so it was: // "HOhohohohohohohohohohohohohohohohohoh..aa..out it goes among us...//This Partridge, WE WE (The first Hohodene) First Hohodene. // It came out among us, NOON it is, we see him there, the Sun, the Primal Sun's Children! //"The Primal Sun's Children so it seems they are", says this Yaperikuli, Yaperikuli.. // (Yaperikuli blessed us) Yaperikuli blesses us, he blew tobacco over us. // The Primal Sun's Children we are, the Sun's Children[4]// After us, our younger brother arose, the Armadillo-children. // There also is its ancestor, the Armadillo. // Thus is its song. // It came out that one. // The other one also. // Armadillo-childrens' younger brothers. // That's truly all!! // Thus: mmm, Mole-grandchildren, we, Armadillo-children, their younger brothers, five of us, five of us. // WE WE (One group) one group. That's all. // For then.... // That's all, he gave us pepper of all kinds... // Yaperikuli, Gave us pepper. // That's all."[5]//

Notes

[1] The world below is the "place of people who have not yet been born." See the drawing of the Baniwa cosmos in Part III.E.

[2] Uainũma is the name of the place where the Maulieni sib have their principal village. The Maulieni of the Aiary River are considered the Maaku of the Hohodene and are addressed by the 'grandparent' terms.

[3] Keramunhe sang this refrain in a rising and falling pattern. While his

voice rose, his finger circled in the air. When the ancestor arose from the earth, then the narrator's hand showed a motion out to the land, as his voice dropped.

[4] The Primal Sun (Hâre) is distinct from the Day Sun (Kamûi). In all sacred songs, spells, chants, etc., the Hohodene refer to themselves as 'Children of the Primal Sun', (Hâre-ienípe).

[5] Other Hohodene narrators stated that when Yaperikuli looked for people, he held a ritual cigar in his hand. He blew smoke into the holes of the earth and mixed around with his finger until the ancestors arose. A second story can follow this; it tells how the first real people, with real names, came out of the earth at Hipana and were then taken to wash in a small rapids in the forest near Hipana. There, Yaperikuli blessed them and left them to dry. These first people had names which people have today and they were like real people today.

M.3.1. The Beginning of the Oalipere-dakenai (Summary).

The Oalipere origin story differs in many respects from the Hohodene. The place where Oalipere were born differs; it is below Hipana. Note in this narration that there is far more emphasis on sacred titles of Hipana and the place below, Enúkoa, where the Oalipere were born. The narrator tells really only about the birth of Oalipere and 'their maaku', a sib called 'Dance-rattle Children' (Kóthero-eni), while all other sibs born after Oalipere are mentioned in passing, not in a definite order. The birth process itself is a different experience: Dzúli, the 'Owner of Tobacco' and Yaperikuli's elder brother, raises the Oalipere while Y. sits and watches, remarking when they are born. There is far more emphasis on sacred substances in the process of birth; three kinds of sacred tobacco are mentioned and four kinds of sacred pepper, all of which were given to the Oalipere ancestors in the beginning of time. The narrator tells more about ancestral lands, traditional villages and ancestral chiefs of long ago. Finally, the style and tone of narration differ: In Keramunhe's narration, there is more drama, use of song, and the impact of the Hohodene birth is like a crescendo rising to a peak and then falling gently. This Oalipere narrator places emphases and repetitions evenly throughout the story.

M.3.1. The Beginning of the Calipere-dakenai (Narrated by Măkénūli, Calipere elder of Kuliriana village).

"We were born.. // Here at Hipana, for us, we people. // There, he looks for us, our father Yaperikuli, as he sat. // He raised us. // Our grandfather Dzúli, this one, // Has this tobacco. // He saw there, Yaperikuli, our tobacco.. ours for us this tobacco. // It was with our grandfather Dzúli. // Another of our grandfathers is named Mâléna. // Another Hipa-thairi, // Another Hipa-nīri. // He made this tobacco.. // Ours, we the Calipere-dakenai. // Calipere-dakenai's tobacco. // For us this tobacco, the first tobacco for us.. // Here at Hipana, the Umbilicus of the Sky, the Sky-place, Dzūli's Bowl. [1] // Together with tobacco was pepper, Yaperikuli also had. // For us it was born, as we say. // Then... He looks for tobacco for us, then he looks for us, we Calipere-dakenai. // We were born for him. // He watched as we were born, Yaperikuli.. This Jesu Cristu as the white people know, we know, we people, as Yaperikuli. // Then he saw tobacco with our grandfather Dzūli, Kătînena tobacco he has for us, // There, at the Umbilicus of the Sky, the Sky-place. // Then he sees us and to his kin, he says, "How is it, do you see them ?" he says to him about us. // "Yes they are being newly born", he says about us. // "So it is they arise, the Calipere-dakenai arise", he says. // He gave us tobacco. // "They arise, Calipere arise", he says. // Then.. he took us up. // Before we were born, our maaku were, before us , he placed them well in all villages. // Then, he raised them truly, // Those, before us, the maaku, our măkún, [2] // They live there at Enípan. // Then he saw us.. // Our grandfather Mâlena, he took tobacco and blew smoke on our heads. // He blew again here, on our navels. // He gave them our bodies, everyone.. // He gave us tobacco: Kătînali tobacco, Petsua-nali tobacco, Máapanali tobacco. // He gave us pepper: Dzūli-dry-pepper, Dzūli-tongue, Rapids-mouth pepper, Mâlédoa pepper, thus is our grandmother, our grandmother, she the woman. // He gets pepper for us, thus with tobacco. // Thus it is. // Long ago for us we people, we were without bodies. We were born here at Hipana, in the World-Umbilicus long ago, thus for us. // Then.. he gave us land, he looked for land, our father Yaperikuli, // For us, ours. // Then he got this our food, as it is in the gardens, // He made it for us. // Then he gave it to us, thus he gave us our food, manioc bread, // Long ago it began for us.// It began here at Hipana, // Those plants, he got also there on the Içana, at the place called Walíro. // There is the Plantation of all sweet potatoes, bananas, every plant. // He got them Yaperikuli, the plants for here in the gardens. // The plants would stay in the gardens. // Thus for us here long ago, .. Here the world began for us, the world began here at Hipana. // The World-Umbilicus he gave to us. // What I am telling you is not nonsense. The world began for us with it ! // Thus it is. // Then, he made my village there, on the Içana.. // It's called Dzókoale, // Another is called Pámaale, // Thus it is. // Then my death-house, my death-house for when I die, for us this is called Tapir-house. // That's all, my death-house. // Here, where we were born, he left us this Hipana, and the rapids below, Sky-place, // That's all. // He got pepper for us, the Dzuli-bowl. // There, ours for us, ours Oalipere-dakenai ! all of us ! // That's all. // My people are the Oalipere-dakenai... // Long ago, my ancestors the elders, were Énawi-nai. // In the way that white people have governors, // But for my people, Énawi-nai were governors. // In the long ago world for the Oalipere-dakenai, // They were the Chiefs of people ! Thus it is.. // This what I tell you is from the beginning of the world for us. // Thus I am a Oalipere-dakenai. // My kin are on the Cuiary River, on the Quiary River, on the Içana River.. // I know that they know thus it is.// All my kin, another are called Tariano, but after us, together were born. // That's all I tell you of my people. " //

Notes

[1] All are names for Hipana, the center of the universe, where large holes in the earth lead to the world below. Oalipere ancestors arose from the holes of a rapids about 100 yards below Hipana, called Emukoa, Sky-place.

[2] The Kothero-eni live at Jándu or Enípan on the Içana River. Other narrators state that the maaku were 'dirty' when they arose. Yaperikuli cleaned them well and sent them to live .

M.4.0. Yaperikuli Obtains the Earth, the Container of Night and Tobacco. (Summary):

This myth may be told in three separate 'pieces' or, as Makenuli does, as a single composition. The story lines of each piece have similar patterns of development, summarized in the table below. Part II., 'The Beginning of Night', is a story known among many tribes of the Vaupés and Içana. Among the Hohodene and Calipere, this myth has special meaning to shamans. As one Hohodene shaman explained: "This world ended once, when Night took over the whole world. Yaperikuli made it happen. Later Yaperikuli saved us through his song. Yaperikuli made the Day arise."

	I	II	III
a.)	The earth as the shit of Kuai, Yaperikuli's son; earth is a rock.	Day is always present for Yaperikuli; the Sun is always there (i.e., no night)	Dzuli is the Tobacco-owner; gives Yaperikuli good, dry tobacco.
b)	Y. gets the earth from Kuai, to make land for gardens.	Y. gets the basket/ container of night from its owner, at its owner's village	Y. wants a stronger kind; Dzuli will deliver it to Y'.s village.
c)	Y. makes Kuai's shit grow large, to size of garden lands.	Y. returns with the heavy basket, opens it and Night comes out; the Sun falls away, disappears.	Dzuli brings tobacco to Y.'s village and there meets his children.
d)	Kaali gets garden land from Y. and puts plants in it.	Animals and birds ascend trees to stay the night; each goes its own way.	Dzuli plants good tobacco for Y., behind Y'.s house, and leaves.
e)	The earth is for plantations; many plants stay with garden land.	The Sun returns and Dawn comes, as the animals sing their song-ways to herald the Dawn.	Y. returns; a night passes, then Y. sees his new tobacco plants all grown.
f)	People today grow on the earth, with the garden-land.	Day and Night alternate, equal times, along with a corresponding order in peoples' activities.	Y. gives all kinds of tobacco and the knowing of tobacco for people today.

M.4.0. Yaperikuli Obtains the Earth, the Container of Night, and Tobacco

(Narrated by Makenuli).

"When this Kuai is born, for him our father Yaperikuli ef always, // At his birth, so little, so little is his child. // Then he shits, he shits, he shits.. // This earth, his shit, Kuai's shit is this earth.// It grew a little, like so little it was, thus we saw the earth long ago, // The world began for us. // His earth then, our father-of-always: A rock, thus it was a rock, // A rock was his village. // Then, he thought about this garden land, // Is there no way for him to get it for people, to get plants ? // Then he wanted the earth with Kuai. // Thus it was so little, the first earth, // It grew the earth.. He shat the earth Kuai... He saw it. // Then, the white people say this Adan, for us we know as Kaali. // He saw the earth and got it with Yaperikuli for gardens. // Then on it he made gardens. // Then he got for the garden our food for today, it stays truly for us as it began. // He got plants from Kuai... Everyone ! Potatoes, bananas... every plant... // They were his Kuai's. // Kaali, the one they call Adam, saw and took them for his plantations. // His garden things, thus they are. Thus in the beginning was the earth from long ago it was for gardens. // Then after, truly it was, we grew on it until today. // That's all, but it was so little as I said in the beginning. //

Now, the day for him, our father-of-always, was forever there, // The Sun was forever there. // Never did it stop for him the Day, forever was the Sun. // He went walking, // Came back arrived and stayed, // Made his food, // The sun did not go. // He went away again, // Returned and arrived, // Made his food, // The sun did not go. // His wife, she his wife, they say the elders, was the daughter of night. // "It's good with my father, Yaperiko", she says to him, // "It's good with my father, he has there, // He goes away, works, comes back.. // He makes his food and then at dusk, says, 'We stay apart, tomorrow will be'"[1], she says to him her husband Yaperiko. // Then Yaperikuli thinks, "Mm-hmm, so it is, let's go to see" and he went. // He went to get this basket of night. // He gave it to him there, // Far away there, it is called the place of night, Deepi-wali. // Night gave Yaperikuli a little basket woven of grass with little fruits on it. // It was very heavy ! // Yaperikuli returns and at mid-trail says, " What is it that weighs so much ?" he says for it was so little. // He opens the top a little, TCHIK ! Night went out, out it came // The Sun went across the sky, LIIIiiiiii... // The Sun then went, "Oh night for us", Yaperikuli says. // "Oh night for us" "Yes night it is" // "Now it is truly" // The Sun.. fell away. // "Ah, how will it be my grandfathers ? " he says to them , the animals. // All those animals and birds: Jacú, night-bird, mūtūm, that chicken, dove, // Everyone of those animals, the big-bellied monkeys, // The black-sloth wamu climbs up a tree and stays. // This winter-frog paitchi sang 'okoekoe' for it was cold and climbed a tree. // Jacú bird went up.. at night it stays on a tree. // "Ah, so it is for our descendants", it says. // Night-bird goes up and sings: "Nnininni night comes out" // They began, each to go its own way as night comes out. // The night went... // Untillll..dawn comes out and rooster makes its song-way. // This mūtūm, we know as the pet of Mánale, the mūtūm, // Rooster makes its song-way heard, // Then the mutum's song-way:"Hnnn hnhnhnn" the day it knew, "Hnn hnnhnn" its song-way. // Rooster cries out its song-way at dawn.. // It goes to look, "Heeyy ! quickly it comes" // The dawn. // Mūtūm takes its song-way.. until done. Rooster its song-way.. until done. // "ooh" says this black sloth, // "The day is here", it says, "kū kū", it says, // "Day it is", it says. // On one side, Yaperikuli sits on a treetop and watches, over there the Sun appears. // He made the Sun go, turn about and return. // The dawn Yaperikuli sees, he watches the dawn rise. // "Day it is", they say to him, "Its way is made, the dawn is here." // He sees it rise, "Ooh, so it will be for our descendants", he made it so here in the world for us today. // It rises.. when it is near noon, they make ready their food. // For us people, Yaperikuli lived there long ago below at Warúkoa, his village. // Thus he came when he opened this container of night, plahhh. // The Sun came out for him.. // Yaperikuli walked about and returned.. // Then he made his food at night.. // Thus it is also, it is so today truly. //

Then he obtains this tobacco, as I said, Yaperikuli obtains it from Dzūli. // He obtains it from Dzuli FIRST ! In the beginning. // This dry tobacco, he knows it's good, // "Give some to me, grandfather", he says. // "So it is, I will bring it" // He gives him thus his dry tobacco. // "No I want the other, the stronger kind, a basket of it", he says. // "Go back home", he says, "I myself will deliver it", he says. //

Thus he would deliver it to Yaperikuli's village. // Thus Dzuli will meet his children there. // He comes to them.. // He meets those children, he comes to them.. // He delivers tobacco to them .. // "Where is Yaperikuli ?" "He is gone", they say. // "I bring tobacco, // "This good tobacco for him", he says to those children.// "This good tobacco for him, I leave him tobacco. // "Over there", he says. // He goes behind the house and behind the house he plants. // "I go now from you" // That's all, he left then and returned. // The night came... // Yaperikuli returned, "Where is Dzuli ?", he says. "Already he returned." // "He left well for you", they say to him. // The night passed... // The tobacco then came out. He goes out behind the house, goes out to see.. // Yaperikuli goes out to where the tobacco is, // "Ooh, thus it is for our descendants", he says then, he left the knowing for us today of all our smoke. // All of it. The tobacco they have the white people.. // There, those white people, have different from us people, // What they have the white people, we don't know how. // This what I tell you, is ours we people ! This tobacco we have. // This what I tell you, is ours we people...// That's all." //

Notes

[1] A good-night farewell.

[2] In other versions, the container of night has all night insects inside, including mosquitoes. Also, when the container is opened, a strong gust of wind comes out with the night.

M.5.0. Kaali-Governor and the Beginning of Gardens (Summary).

Introduction. This myth is an important explanation of how the knowledge of creating and reproducing plantations began for people in the world. The narrator, a Oalipere elder, knew the story completely while others whom I asked knew parts of the story and without as much attention to detail. My unexpected appearance in the narrator's village 'just to hear the story' was not the best way to discuss and clarify parts of the story, however.

1.) Kaali grew up in the world, married, and had three children.

2.) For an unexplained reason, Kaali's wife then became angry with him. H e left her, for she could only look with anger on him.

3.) Kaali went to live alone far away from his family. He took away all plants there were to make his own plantation.

4.) Kaali's children then tried to work on a new garden, cutting and setting fire to it. Kaali, however, made it rain every day and the fire could not start.

5.) Kaali soon returned and greeted his wife. Her anger was forgotten, and Kaali promises to help his children make the garden, for already they had suffered without food.

6.) Kaali finds the youngest of his three children trying to set fire to the garden and having no suceess. Kaali helps in starting the fire.

7.) Kaali takes his dance spear, his shield and drinks three cups of manioc beer. He gives it to his son and instructs him to give beer to his wife.

8.) Kaali's son asks twice why his father should do like so, "that I should burn you." Then he pushed his father into the fire to burn. As he burns, Kaali instructs his son to return to the garden after one week when he would find all the plants and manioc there could be. Kaali's wife, the boy's mother, would not know how the earth was planted and that Kaali's dead body lay in it.

9.) Kaali's son returned one week later and found the garden full of all plants and manioc. The first manioc was a tree which came out from Kaali's burning-place up to the sky.

10.) Then the garden-owners, mother and daughter, arrive and see that already there is much manioc. The son chops the tree down and the two women collect the fallen manioc.

11.) They return home and begin the process of scraping off manioc shells, 'breaking them open', as it is done today, to clean the roots of dirt.

12.) Kaali's dead body stayed in the earth. His knowing of the planting of gardens patted all over the world to people. Kaali left the slit-drum (*pemaku*) with which elders who bless newly-made and planted gardens, summon Kaali to come bring for them the plants of his plantation and to make their gardens grow well. Kaali's body is manioc bread which he instructed people to eat for all times.

M.5.0. *Kaali-Governor and the Beginning of Gardens* (Narrated by Maria, Calipere elder of Kepirali-numana).

"This Kaali-Governor [1]// His knowing was in the world. // Then, for a long time, he lives. // For a long time, it seems, he lives, // Then he has a wife. // With wife, he has children, three children. // Then he gets his son a wife. // But fierce she was his son's wife, // Fierce also she was his wife. // For.. with anger she looked on him, // His son's wife also. // She pulled up the garden, // Thus it was with anger she looked, she his wife. // "With anger it seems you look on me...// Now it will be you will stay here with your children. // For you, it seems, raise them without me", he says. // Then it was, he went away. // He goes to live... // He lived there on the Cubate River. // He returns later to the Vaupés headwaters, // Hentída it's called where he lives. // He made a plantation there of everything ! Until done // Gone from his wife, for ... with anger she looked on him, fierce she was. // Later, .. he comes back and meets those his children. // He makes it rain, every day rain fell. // "Let's go work, already our father went away", they say those his children. // "Thus it is, let's go set fire", they say. // They gather wood, // In their garden to lay. // No way how it would burn, // He made it rain for them, // No way how they could burn it. // Kaali then arrives and greets her his wife, // He greets her... well she knows, she his wife.. // "Liiiiiiyuuu Liiiiiiyuuu", he says. // Then, "Now we forget this evil", she says, she his wife, // "Kaali-Governor, now we forget", she says, "Never more of this." // "Now I truly will go and you will see", he says. // Then truly he would put in the earth all of this our food of today. // He had taken it far away from them. // They were suffering, those his children, for.. // Suffering emerged in the beginning on it. // "Follow your mother's words", he says like so, // "Your mother's words, my children, follow your mother's words, for she is with anger, she your mother.. // With anger, her knowing, she lives with it.. // Thus they stay with it", he says. // "Now it will be you will have food", he says. // He sets fire and lays it down.. // He comes out of the garden quickly ! He gave to his son his knowing. // From far, "One week you will stay, then come see this your garden!" he says. // Then... // "What are you working on, younger brother ?" // "We have just burned this, for.. // Our father has gone away from us..// He took from us our food", says he his child. // "What do you have to eat ?" he says // "He made there for him, this garden" // Then his elder brother went to set fire and goes to burn for him. // Then,.. "I will help you, my children, for mother is angry", Kaali says like so. // Then it was, he made the fire begin, he lays down firewood. // "Now truly you will come, she will not put out this garden-fire", he says, // "Now truly you will burn me, my children", he says. // He takes a dance spear [2]// The dance spear was his possession, it stays with him. // He takes his shield. // Then he sets fire. // "Why is it like so they work with you, father ?" says his child. // He takes a little.. in a gourd then, // His beer, a little they say, three drinks. // "Henceforwards, you drink it", he says. // He drinks a little. // "You give her to drink, she your wife", he says. // "Now it will be, you take it and give it to your wife. // Never more will you see me", he says. // "Why is it that you work like so, father ?" his child says, // "That I should burn you, father ?" he says. // Then it was, he pushed, he pushed him in the fire, // He pushed his father in to burn. // He ran.. "Around the burning-place you will see hĕríwai !" he says [3]// There in the burning, PAAA ! HAYYY ! //"One week later you come see the garden !" he says. // Then it was.. he waits one week, // He would wait for it. // That's all, than he went to see, // He saw his garden: GARDEN, garden, garden, pineapples, bananas, all of those cubiu fruit also, every kind of manioc, every plant [4]// A LOT there was ! // She will not know how, she, // It went in the earth. // "She mother, will not know how it appears", he says there. // Then the younger brother sees the garden-owner, // She then, his wife's mother. // Then: "Come out from there among them, my son !" she says, // Then, "Your things are over there" [5]// She, his elderly wife's mother, then comes, // "Now truly it seems we have it, my daughter", she says. // She goes to collect then, in the garden, // She gets her carrying basket. // Then, they go and he would cut down the manioc tree. // He chops: Pooolululululululu... // It is down, // The manioc-tree they push down. // That's all, it seems then, she began to take it out of the ground, this is how it is our food today. // That manioc, well-made it seems this Kaali-Governor began it. // He blesses this tobacco, returns again and blows smoke over the manioc.[6] // That's all, then they returned home. // This manioc, like so she works it, // They must scrape it. // That's all, they cut open, OPEN the shells, so they are not dirty. // His dead body lay in the earth. // It was born, this what stays. // Thus it was with this Kaali-Governor, we know him as Kaali-Governor. // Then, .. to far away his knowing parts to each a piece. // He looks after them, those his children and she his wife, // No more anger she had, well she saw, she his wife. //

His knowing... // Then truly it seems, his knowing was in the world, // Thus it began. // There also he gave to them, they say the elders, this drum also. // They summon him, // They beat the drum, they do it seems, // They summon him: // "You come to us Kaali-Governor, you come bring for us your shield !" they say there. // He gave to them, they have it today, "The old ones have it, it seems" he said then. // That's all. His knowing, as I said, parted to each, his knowing returned afterwards. // That's all they said that I heard as I grew up. // His knowing, it seems, remains. // On the Cubate River, it remains, and the Vaupés headwaters. // For the Cuiary River also, everywhere it returned there, // It passed over this world. // Then this little Aiary River too. // Only one thing, what he gave us to eat, // Manioc bread, this is his body, // "My body it will be", he says, "You will eat this in the world." // This Kaali-Governor gave for them .. // That's all. " //

Notes

[1] *Kaali-thairi*, Kaali-Governor. *-Thairi* is a title most often used to refer to Yaperikuli, as in *Midzáka-thairi*, Eternal Governor. People said that Yaperikuli and Kaali are distinct persons; each is 'unique', (*Paita-tsa*) and had no relation to each other. Kaali grew up in the world, is always in the world and associated with the earth and not with the deities, such as Yaperikuli, who live in the Other World in the heavens.

[2] *Dzauína*, dance-spear. A lance made of rosewood, with the head of a rattle. A chief carried it and a shield (*wapere*) as ceremonial instruments during festivals of exchange. Whenever the chief spoke to the dancers, he carried both shield and lance.

[3] *Heríwai* (tucum- fibre ?) is a plant which people today have in their gardens, the fibrous leaves of which are used for making string.

[4] Another name for the first manioc tree is *Kaali-ka-thadapa*, the Great Tree of Kaali. In another myth, not used in this thesis, which is said to follow this myth, it is told how shamans obtained their snuff, jaguar-teeth collars, and other instruments, from the Great Tree of Kaali. For reasons of length, I have decided to omit this myth, although in a study of Baniwa myths, it would have to be cited as one of the major stories.

[5] I don't understand these lines, and my translation here is uncertain.

[6] Spell-blowing is done today when a new garden is planted. An elder stands in the middle of the garden and follows a prescribed ritual to call

Kaali. After this blessing, people say, the gardens should "be born well."

M.6.0. Ooliamali, or Omawali, the Anaconda (Narrated by Keroami).[1]
"They were walking about shooting with arrows then.. // Two children named Dapaada walk by the riverbank. // They shoot fish and catch them,// They shoot them. // At the noonday Sun, Yaperikuli descends, // "What are you working on ?" he says. // "We go shooting them, we shoot fish, good are these our arrows." // "Do they kill ?" "They are our shooting-things." // "Let me try" // Then he takes the arrows from them, // He breaks them : // Dalehé ! Dalehé ! // "Pooh ! You know nothing, Yaperiko.. // Being Yaperiko you know the world, // Yet it is that Ooliamali is laying with your wife, // Ooliamali lays your wife." // "Ooliamali lays my wife ?!" "Yes" "Where ?" "There at the port." // "When?" "The afternoon." // "Oh, I will fix the arrows." // He gets the broken arrows, // Fixes them and keeps them. // "When is it ?" // "When your wife goes to the port, it comes in the early afternoon. " // He returns to Warúkoa, // Gets a big gourd Aatha, and an earth-pot Akhe. // On... Omawali.. Ooliamali, // Only one it is. // She lays down, opens up, and awaits there. // Out it comes, it comes out a white man, thus is Omawali. // They say they await, [2]// On.. "Tomorrow it will be" // Yaperikuli says, "Ho." // He went. // She goes into her garden and gets manioc. // She returns and comes to scrape it. // When she finished scraping and squeezing it, she goes to the port. // Then.. they run there, Yaperikuli comes tsatsatsatsatsa.... // They stay there, // On top of a rock, this one, // There he stays, // Yaperikuli and Huíniri with him, two [3] // They take blowguns, // They made blowgun darts, // Huíniri it is. // On... // She sets down her bucket and Yaperikuli watches. // He strikes the large gourd: Tootootootoo ! // Out it comes, Tsalalala... // It comes out one. // They await.. she goes to lie down and she awaits, // They take their blowguns.. A white man is appearing.. // Already he sees it climbing, // "On, Blow your gun Yaperiko !" says Huíniri, "Ho". // Pooh It falls away. "Dzehh ! You know nothing Yaperikuli, not like so do they kill people.. // Like so they kill people", says this Huíniri // "Let's go.. // Over there we go to kill". They would kill. // They take their guns and slap the mouths: Pu ! TA ! // THERE ! On the Sky !

It hits.. // Thus it is then the arrows come back down poison treespines walamas.. // Ûûûûiiooohhh ! That's all, it kills there ..// TAA ! (Hits the Anaconda's back) // TAA !! On its arse. Already Yaperikuli killed. // Dead, it sank to near bottom, buuuhh.. // "Hey" // It comes back and shoots out its sperm.. // It ruuunnnsss and stays.// There Yaperikuli, they stay and then return home. // They forget... // She sees their drying guns and arrows..... // When ready..., // Then they say to their younger brother Kuaikaniri: // "You go fish. You go get our food", he says, "Go get our food." "Ho" // Yaperikuli gives him dthōrópoko bait and a fishpole. // "Your fishpole" "Ho " // Already he went down to get fish, // Little fish. // A little red one he caught.. TSAK ! // Then, ... A rútan fish // The fishpole head he throws out.. // Then a little anujá fish, a little one in a stream we know it as a mătípăra, TSA !// At a fishtrap.. TSAP ! A little taríra fish he catches, // Four of them, [4] // That's all. // Then he goes to kill the fish there, // His food, their food, only they. // Their drying fishpoles they put back. // Each one had a share of fish.. // Yaperikuli has one share, // Huíniri another, he distributes another, altogether. // For her they cooked then another four fish for her to eat, // Ten. // She goes to get manioc, // Ready to boil water, she gets firewood. // She returns.. // And starts a fire in the oven, in the oven .[5] // She gives manioc bread to everyone of them, // Puts all of the fish together. // Fiercely the fire burns ! // "Come roast them", he says.. // "Well it burns the fire.. // Come roast them." // "You give me to eat also", she says, // "It seems that you don't like me", she says. "Hey, I will give you to eat, but when they are ready", he says. //"When well-roasted, we eat." // They roast... // Well ! // She sits by her plate. // He puts out in her plate, // Four little fish. // "Aha, here is yours." "Ho". // He takes them up and sets them out, Yaperikuli, and joins them together.. // Their own shares. // Yaperikuli with his own, // Huíniri his own, another one more. // They sit and eat them. // They eat and when done.. // On, // Quickly they come out ! [6]// "Paaahh !" // "Who likes Ooliamali's penis eats their husband's penis", says Yaperikuli, // "Their husband's penis they will find good to eat," he says. // Fooh ! // Angry was she the woman. // They go, "Hey-hey-hey.." // She heard what they said.. // She takes an earthpot and takes a large gourd.. // She goes back to the port. // She drinks much water, // Thus it is she vomits there.. // Tsak ! Out came the little anujá. // Tsak ! Out falls the little taríra. // Ha' ta Rútan falls. // A single one, then, the little Kû́uiro stays, it can't go out. // Thus it is Ooliamali's sperm stays in her belly. // That same one grows in her.......... // BBIIGG !! Ooliamali was in her belly, this Omawali. // On. // Yaperikuli left it, he turned it back on her like so. // Already he put it on her. // Untiiiilll large she carried Omawali. // Then it goes to look for its food with her: // A tree-fruit, // Another tree-fruit... // Another tree-fruit... // They return. // Once she goes away from it, // She returns inside the house. // It looks for her... NOT THERE ? // She extended a huge earthen plate onto the house roof. // It runs and falls this Omawali... TIK ! // On the Bighouse roof [7]// NOT THERE !!?? // It gets black ants, Aakali, // They looked for her, striking the door. // They looked for her, the mother. // TIK !! "AAHH!! What a noise you make, you lie down and wait !!" she says. // She opens the door, she the mother.. // She comes out and runs, "AAAHH !! How he wants that one !" Kyelulululu..... Tihhhhh ! In the river.. // Its mother is the Mápara fish, // The Mápara..// For she came back, they make her the Mápara fish, // Ooliamali's mother. // On... // Ooliamali did not rest. // It goes up, it climbs up trees, // Ooliamali goes and climbs, // It eats with its mother, the seringa fruit, everything ! // They went again, on another day.. // They go to get cunulí fruit [8] // TAAA !! Once more far up on top it goes ! // It climbs up, Ooliamali goes up... // TIIIIII !! On top ! // There it sings on the cunulí treetop, "Mother Mother" // "Mother Mother" // It gets a fruit and spits out the seed, // Pŭtsaaa.. Its tailpoint stays in her vagina. // She gets and gives Omawali a very red fruit.. // Perúti that one is.. // Then this little frog manáde comes [9]// There she calls it. // "Ho" // Quickly she goes to the river // It looks there PUUUUUUUUUUUUU [10] // She the mother,.. // "HEY !! HEY !! NOT THERE ITS MOTHER !!! ALREADY SHE WENT AAAGH !! " // Tik ' Tik ' Already it went after her Omawali, Ooliamali Tik'tktktk.. // Angrily it went. // Untiiiilll thus it was they left it. // They left there the things-of-rot that catch Ooliamali and eat it. // The catchers, whatever, they left: the Piranha-grandfather, Omawali it is. // Taaahh ! It goes and they catch it there, TSAK !! This Ooliamali. // They go back, Tik! // Thus it is they kill

Ooliamali. // She the mother, // Went to the bottom. // Then..
bees descended on its head. // That's truly all, it's finished that one. " //

Notes

[1] Ooliamali is a name for one anaconda, while Omawali is a generic name for several different kinds of anacondas.

[2] Keroami may have omitted what Y. did with the gourd and earthpot. Later it was explained that Y. strikes the gourd making a noise which attracts Ooliamali. Yaperikuli and a companion await hidden, watching the anaconda come out of the water and lie with his wife. Then they wait until the following day when they kill the anaconda.

[3] Huíniri is a forest-spirit, known also as 'the owner of the Blowgun.'

[4] Later it was explained that these little fish are "the sperm of Ooliamali" which had transformed after Y. had killed the anaconda.

[5] Raised earth ovens in the kitchen of every house, open at both ends.

[6] Meaning they were regurgitated. Y., H., and Kuaikaniri vomit the fish.

[7] Ooliamali runs and falls into the plate on the roof. One of the roof-beams on longhouses is in fact called Omawali-beam.

[8] Fruit-tree (Euforbiaceas cunuria crassipes).

[9] A little forest frog which makes a song which sounds like "Mae mae". Ooliamali's mother calls the frog to replace her as she escapes.

M.7.0-7.1. Two Variants of the Kuai Myth from the Baniwa of the Içana River . M.7.0 is the complete version published by Padre Wilhelm Saake (1956), translated by Dr. Bernhard Mecking from German. M.7.1. is a summary version from E. Galvão (1959), my translation from Portuguese.

M.7.0. "The first part of the myth reports the conception, the birth, the name and the nature, and finally the death of Jurupari. In a second part it is told how the flutes that, as a voice of Jurupari, represent the mythical being after his disappearance, came into being. A third part narrates the fight that arose between men and women because of the possession of the flutes and the final victory of the men.

The four figures that we learn to know in the myth, besides J., are Inapirikuri [= Yaperikuli], Dzuri [=Dzuli], Meriri [=Maliri- shaman], and Amaru. Inapirikuri is a being that consists completely of bones, i.e., has no flesh at all. This being made Dzuri, Meriri, and Amaru, not by the labor of his hands but by a simple word of his mouth. Dzuri and Merirri are male beings, personifications of the two most important actions of the shaman: blowing and sucking. Amaru, who is called an 'aunt' by Inapirikuri (but cannot be his real aunt because she has been made by him) becomes the mother of Jurupari.

Amaru conceived Jurupari without having been together with a man. She rubbed her face gently with a twig. During the night she had a dream that she was sleeping with Inapirikuri. That happened three times. After that, she felt that she was a mother.

Amaru had no opening in her body suitable for childbirth. While fishing, a fish entered her body. That produced the opening through which the child entered life.

During the birth, Amaru suffered great pain for a whole day. After the child was born, she was laying like dead. That is why Dzuri managed to kidnap the child. When Amaru recovered, she asked for the child. Inapirikuri answered that it was not born, only the afterbirth was on the ground. Amaru cried: "A child has really been born, you have stolen it!" Inapirikuri threw the afterbirth into the river and it became the first stingray fish.

Dzuri and Meriri took care of the child. It has no mouth and therefore can neither speak nor eat. Its nourishment was the smoke of the cigar blown over the child by Dzuri. The child grows rapidly so that after two days it looks like a six-year old child.

Inapirikuri wants to explore the nature of this strange being. When it was asked whether it was man, beast, or fish, it shook its head, denyingly. When asked 'are you the Jurupari ?' the being nodded in consent. Inapirikuri wants to know further where the mouth of the being is. He points to various parts of the body, the chest and the face until the position of the mouth is identified by nodding. Then the mouth is cut open perpendicular to the row of the teeth. Since this cannot be right, the cut flesh is put together and the skin is cut corresponding to the row of teeth. At once the being starts to produce a humming noise, that fills the whole world that at that time was like a garden. The body of Jurupari was covered by hair. Head, hands and feet were human, but the body was the body of an ape. One day Jurupari went into the woods with three boys to collect fruit for a feast. It was not allowed for the boys to eat of the fruit collected. Jurupari climbed on a tree to hit loose the fruits. The boys collected the fruit, opened it and took out some of the pips. The boys are hungry. They catch fish at a nearby river and roast it at a fire. Before they had time to eat, Jurupari, who was aware of their dereliction of duty, sent storm and rain. The boys looked for cover in a big hole, that opened in front of them. It was the mouth of Jurupari that shut after the children had entered.

Inapirikuri knew what had happened in the woods, namely that Jurupari had devoured the three boys. He had four baskets put in front of him. When Jurupari came home, he had to vomit. The three boys fell into the first three baskets, the fruit into the fourth. Then Jurupari went home to take a bath. Inapirikuri said in anger: "We have to kill Jurupari, or he will kill us all."

Jurupari, who knew about the danger threatening him, fled to heaven, or, like a different reporter said, to the center of the world. (There were three worlds of which the third one formed the center). Inapirikuri sent an ape (a wasp according to a different report) to heaven to call Jurupari. The ape jumped up to heaven. The wasp drilled a hole through the partition-walls between the first and second, and between the second and third worlds. There, Jurupari got the order to descend at once to Inapirikuri. The ape had brought smoked fish and juicy ants that Dzūri had made especially tasty by his tobacco smoke. When Jurupari refused to come because Inapirikuri wanted to kill him, the ape handed the gifts over. These were so tasty that Jurupari was caused to change his refusing attitude. He said that he knew that Inapirikuri wanted to kill him, but that there was no way to take his life. When the ape went to the door to return home, the door closed so quickly that it nearly crushed the unpleasant messenger. Jurupari had done that. After the death of the ape, he would no longer have felt the duty to follow the order of Inapirikuri.

Around five in the evening, Jurupari appeared on earth. Inapirikuri had made three puppets of mulungo (a light wood) to take the place of the dead boys. The puppets were so arranged as if they were alive. Jurupari said: "I know everything, but you are not able to kill me."

His whole body began to hum and sound: the thumb like the jacamin, the first fingers like the paca, the following three like uari, the knee like maracu, and the elbow like the deer.

Jurupari who wanted to stay the whole night through, danced around the mulungo puppets. He danced till around two o'clock. Then he felt cold. That was because Dzuri had breathed to make it cold. A large fire was made to allow Jurupari to warm up. Then Dzuri took one hand of Jurupari, Meriri took the other one, and they danced. Jurupari said, "You cannot kill me, because there is nothing around to kill me. I am wood, I am water, I am the knife, I am the gun. My body is all that and that is why there is no way to kill me." But he had not given any thought to fire. Fire is something completely different. Fire destroys everything. Inapirikuri said: "Let's throw him into the fire."

There was dancing until about five in the morning. Then he was thrown into the fire. Jurupari said, " You cannot kill me. I will go to heaven. My spirit and my language will go to heaven. After my death, mankind (that would not have had to die without my death) will also die. Without death it would have been taken into heaven once it would have been tired and old. " When Jurupari's stomach exploded in the fire, his spirit flew to heaven with a humming sound.

After a month, Inapirikuri followed Jurupari curiously to heaven to see how it was up there. He found Jurupari white and shining as predicted. Inapirikuri came back with the wish to die also to become like Jurupari. He went to a foreign region where he died on a cross.

At the fireplace where Jurupari had been burned, paxiuba, iebaru, and cipó vine grew out of the soil. Parts of the bowels that Inapirikuri had thrown into the forest had changed into mosquitoes and snakes. The paxiuba grew up as a big tree, in a moment. Inapirikuri had an ape climb the tree to cut the trunk at certain intervals. After that, Dzuri hit the tree with a stick so that the cut pieces fell down. The bark of the iebaru tree was removed, the hanging vine was collected, and the marrow of the bamboo-like paxiuba was taken away. So the paxiuba pieces became flutes of different sizes. Around them iebaru bark was wound and fixed with cipo vines, that the Indians use as yarn. The different flutes always appear in pairs. Since there are ten different flutes, only one the uari exists in three versions, the total number of flutes is 21. Attached to the flutes are, on opposite sides, two pointed sticks that surpass the lower rim of the flutes by roughly 20 cm. Thus the flutes that are one to two meters long, can be easily mounted by hitting the ground with the sticks. A wind blow, caused by Dzuri, by the movement of a leaf of a tree, made the flutes speak and sing. The following names of the flutes were given: jacamin, jauarete, aracu. paca, uari, suassu, uairiri, cotia, tucano.

Before his death, Jurupari had said, "I will leave behind on earth my song (my tongue, my language). It will sing like I have sung." Dzuri made the 21 Jurupari within one hour. They produce notes of different pitch and volume.

Amaru went to Inapirikuri and claimed the Jurupari-flutes for herself. Inapirikuri refused that with the argument that she is a woman and therefore could not own the flutes. Amaru insists and points out that she had been robbed of her son, and therefore one should let her at least have the grandsons. But Inapirikuri says, "It doesn't work. You are not able to think like he did (Jurupari). " But it is impossible to shove off Amaru. To get rid of the annoying petitioner, Inapirikuri finally promises to let her have the flutes. But it is only a promise with words. Inapirikuri has already made up a plan to secure the flutes for the men. "Listen," he says, "call your comrades." Amaru calls thirty girls who rise out of a hole that has been dug into the ground. Dzuri does the same; he gets thirty lads out of a hole that he dug.

Between these thirty girls and boys there will be a competition for the possession of the Jurupari-flutes. In a moment, thirty tall palm trees grew out of the ground, all of the same height and thickness. The thirty girls are positioned in front of the palm trees at an appropriate distance so that each girl has a plam tree in front of her. Inapirikuri and Amaru are standing apart overlooking and supervising everything. At a given signal, the girls run toward the palm trees, crying loudly. They start to climb the trunks but do not get up to even the middle. Inapirikuri tells Amaru: " Look Amaru, a wife is not able to climb. She does not have strength. We, the men, have strength." Amaru felt sad, she blamed the women who had disappointed her. But they said the trunks had been too slippery. Now it was the boys' turn to show their strength. Inapirikuri clapped his hands. Quickly, like the monkeys, the boys climbed the tree up to the highest top. Inapirikuri had given them strength. Amaru didn't dare say a word.

Later, Amaru called together the girls to deliberate on the robbery of the Jurupari. In the dark of the night, the plan was carried out. At that time there were no rivers yet. The waterless riverbeds were the streets of that time. The women built a big house that had room enough for all of them.

The next morning, the house of Amaru and of Jurupari was found empty. After that Inapirikuri knew what had happened. Amaru and the women had stolen the Juruparis. They still had to be close by. They did not have strength enough for a long journey. Now Dzuri and Meriri had to make up a weapon that worked like thunder and lightning to kill Amaru and the women and to get the Juruparis. The next day the 33 men pursued the women. They found the maloca of the women. Jurupari was glad to be with his grandmother. Amaru did not know how to get the Jurupary to sing. She took a flute: when the opening of the flute came close to her face, she sensed a windblow that hit her. When she moved her mouth to the opening of the flute, it began to play and to sing. Since that time, the flute plays no longer because of the wind made by the movement of a leaf but only when somebody blows into the opening of the flute. Amaru had also taught her comrades to play the flutes and everybody was happy and satisfied.

Inapirikuri came close to the house out of which happy music sounded. He ordered Dzuri to direct the weapon with thunder and lightning towards the women. All women except Amaru were killed. The 30 lads took the Juruparis and carried them off. Only one uari that was hidden under the shoulder of Amaru was left with the women.

It has been like that until today. If women deal with the Jurupari, they will die by thunder and lightning like they did at that time. "

M.7.1. Kowai (from E. Galvão, 1959: 46-7), translated by R. M. Wright. "I. The Birth of Jurupari. Cristo (Inapiri-kuri) was the creator of Jurupari. Cristo cleaned his sweat with a leaf of tobacco, which he kept in a jirau (a tripod of sticks tied together, for keeping things) prohibiting that his wife touch it. She, disobeying, passed the leaf over her body. She became pregnant. But the child could not be born, for she had no vagina. Cristo took her to the river where he caught an aracu fish and put it between her legs. The aracu bit but opened a very small hole. Having caught a jacunda fish, this one opened a larger cut. The child having been born, its mother hid it, only showing to Cristo the other children that came afterwards. When Kowai was presented to him, already he had grown. But he could not speak, for he had no mouth. Cristo asked the child whence he came and who he was. He spoke the name of all the animals known but without result. Only when he mentioned Jurupari, the child nodded with its head. Cristo cut then a mouth on the face of Jurupari, but made it in a vertical direction. He thought it not good, sewed it, and cut a new mouth such as we have today. The cut mark of the first mouth on us is seen in the furrow that goes from the base of the nose to the lip.

II. The Killing of Jurupari. Jurupari invented and taught to men many things. But they were always turning against him. Disgusted, he went away to the sky, whence Cristo tried to attract him to return to the earth. Jurupari was received with a great festival, a dabakuri. He was given beer to drink until he was drunk. It was the plan of Cristo and his companions to kill him, which was difficult to do given the extraordinary resources he possessed. But the companions remembered that Jurupari would not speak in fire, so they decided to use this method. Drunk, Jurupari was shoved with trees into the huge fire-place. On touching the flames he burst apart. Jurupari was dead but his spirit arose to the sky. From his ashes were born two plants: the paxiuba and the iebaru (Epurea purpurea Benth.), from which the flutes are made. The sound or the voice of Jurupari has been kept in these flutes.

III. Variant on "The Killing of Jurupari". Jurupari had a desire to eat people and devoured the companions of Cristo. Cristo decided to kill him but Jurupari fled to the sky. Cristo sent up to look for him, inviting him to a dabakuri. Cristo sent with the message-carrier a piece of roasted pacu fish and toasted sauva ants, as gifts. Jurupari said to his wife: "I go to the earth. Jesus will kill me, but I return. After I die, every person will die and come to stay with me." Dead in the large fire, a great noise arose to the sky, it was Jurupari. From then, the men would speak his tongue, would be his sons, and when they die, would arise to his house and become beautiful like him.

IV. The Women and the Ritual Flutes. Among the deeds of Jurupari, it is told how the women robbed the secret of the fests of flutes and dance masks. In this time, while the women were dancing, the men made manioc bread and took care of the house. Jurupari disguised himself as a woman, covering his sex with blood to imitate menstruation and learned from his aunt Amaru the procedures of the rituals. He killed the women and expelled his aunt to the Rio Negro. From then on, the men take care of the fest, prohibiting it to women, and transferring to them the tasks of domestic life."

Appendix A: Summary Descriptions of Rituals of Initiation for Children.

Introduction. This account of Baniwa initiation rituals, or Kuaipan (Kuai-House) is based on many informants' statements. I have never participated in nor witnessed the initiation rites. From 1975 to 1977, Baniwa of the upper Aiary River, where I lived, held three initiation rites, one for a girl and two for boys. The boys' rites were held before and after the period of my fieldwork; the girl's rite was held at the headwaters of the Uaraná stream and I heard of its taking place afterwards.

In the literature on the Northwest Amazon, there is a large number of descriptions of initiation rituals, or "Yurupary Rites", for the peoples living in the immediate vicinity of the Baniwa; for instance, for the Tariana, see Coudreau (1887) and for the Wanana, see Amorim (1926/8). These descriptions are very often dated, however, and amount to only a few pages in length. Recently, fieldworkers in the region have written excellent works; above all, mention should be made of the works by Stephen and Christine Hugh-Jones (1974 and 1977 respectively). There is by now a very large bibliography of recent writings on Vaupés rituals, myths and cosmology (see the compiled bibliographies of old and new works in S. Hugh-Jones (1974) and the 1979 edition of The Cubeo by Irving Goldman.). For the Baniwa, several of the older works contain descriptions of "Yurupary" rites, e.g., von Humboldt for Baniwa of Marôa (1821) and Koch-Grünberg, for the Aiary and Içana (1967) . Wm. Saake (1964) and Eduardo Galvão (1959) also have information. Galvão observed an initiation ritual for girls on the lower Içana River.

Baniwa told me about Kuaipan in a number of ways; in answer to my questions on how they are performed today; in answer to specific requests to have parts of the rituals spoken or chanted; or in conversations when the topic emerged. I asked various elders, two specialists who knew the shamanizing chants , young men and recent initiates. There was overall agreement among them on essential ritual procedures, yet on specific details, each person had something more and a little bit different to add. Often people would comment in their descriptions on the tone or quality of the ritual acts, or how the acts should be done. I shall use these comments freely in the account. I have participated in Baniwa festivals of exchange (Poodali), but Kuaipan, by comparison, is both more complex and richer in descriptive content.

The purpose of holding Kuaipan, as the Baniwa say, is to teach the children; thus its scheduling partly depends on the number of children who are deemed ready. It is an exciting and beautiful event. The Baniwa take much pride in the music of the full set of sacred flutes (Kuai) and the elaborate preparation of the initiates. Emotions run to high points of seriousness after the blessing of pepper when the elders give council to the initiates on the praxes of social life. It is prohibited for women and the un-initiated to see the sacred flutes and trumpets, on pain of death if one sees them unintentionally or shows them intentionally to others. The male initiates who have never seen nor understood what the elders were talking about when discussing the flutes, are brought into contact with the sacred, their first ancestors. They are warned never to tell about what they have seen afterwards on pain of their death. Men run the risk of their own deaths if they should mis-manage the ritual, or if any procedure is done sloppily.

I shall now describe the rites first for men and following this, I shall make a few additions to Galvão's description of the rituals for women.

CONTENTS: I. *Male Initiation Rituals:* Timing of the Rites; Preparations; Day 1--"They Summon"; Day 2 and the Beginning of the Marginal Period; The Marginal Period; The "Coming-Out Festival"; Preparations; The Blessing of Food and Pepper; The Distribution of Food and Speeches of Elders to the Initiates: The Coming-Out Dance and the Presentation of the Initiates; The Final Dance. II. *Rituals for Women.* III. *Sources.*

I. *Male Initiation Rituals:*

Timing of the Rites. With reference to the calendric timing of the rites, Koch-Grünberg stated (1967:187) that, according to the Oalipere-dakenai, the initiation rites should be held at the time of the ripening of the forest-fruits *assaí* and *bacába*. I was told that male initiation rites could be held during the ripening-time of the following forest-fruits: *umarí*, *pupunha*, *ibacába*, *patawá*, *assaí*, *uacú*. (For the ripening-times of these fruits, see the season chart in Part I.). Other authors who have described "Yurupary" rituals in the Northwest Amazon, have attempted to link the scheduling of the rituals to particular fruit-ripening times. When the Baniwa listed these fruits, it was because all of them ripen in a certain time of the year, during a certain season, when *Kuaipan* is customarily held. Hohodene would say, on the one hand, that particular fruits and their ripening times was not an important question. They would say "whichever fruits" (of the ones they listed) happened to be in abundance, and could be collected in sufficient quantity. On the other hand, they would remark during the late dry season and the short rainy season (December- March) that "now is the very time" to schedule *Kuaipan*. During this time, the Pleiades-constellation (*Oalipere*) was visible on the horizon at dusk. Thus, anytime during these months would be appropriate for the initiation rituals.

Preparations. Any man with a son who is ready for initiation (anywhere from six to thirteen years) may decide to host/sponsor the ritual *Kuaipan*. He discusses his decision among other men after the evening communal meal as the men sit and smoke tobacco. Other men may agree that together they will show their sons the sacred instruments, *Kuai*, if the person who began the discussion agrees to become the ritual's Owner. The chief host *must* ask an elder within his own village or another well-known ritual specialist to officiate at the ritual. This elder must take responsibility over the initiates, show them the sacred flutes, counsel and instruct them when the time comes. The same elder (or, perhaps, a different one) must be able to act as lead-dancer (*Mándero*) and direct the dances which will take place during the rituals.

The specialist is usually from one of the villages whose children will be initiated. In most instances, the Owner of the ritual is related to the elder-"grandfather" specialist as direct kin or classificatory "brother" by virtue of the same sib membership. In a few instances, however, the Owner of the ritual was the *same* person as the specialist-"grandfather".

The chief host, or Owner, is also responsible for seeing to it that there will be enough manioc beer (*pádzaware*) made throughout the ritual, and asks his wife to organize the production of beer. Obviously, the Owner and his wife must have a garden large enough to undertake the burden of sponsoring the ritual. If they do not, they will ask their immediate kin to contribute to the supply.

The participants in *Kuaipan* usually belong to the same sib. In a recent (1977-8) initiation, two villages, Seringa Rupitá and Hipana, were Hohodene, the initiates were from both villages, and the elder-"grandfather" specialists were from both villages. The Owner, who initiated the discussion of the ritual, was from Seringa; he was related to one of the "grandfathers" as real younger brother and to the other as classificatory younger brother Hohodene. In fact, the two villages of Seringa Rupitá and Hipana have held initiation rituals together since the early part of this Century. They are the largest Hohodene villages on the upper Aiary River and, in 1976-7 at least, two of the best-known ritual specialists on the river lived in the villages.

A week or more before the first day of *Kuaipan*, invitations are sent out to the guests. Either the Owner makes them personally or a messenger is sent to participating villages, informing them of the scheduled day to begin. The invitations are spoken in formal language, with words like: "tomorrow, the next day, the marked day", and on the marked day, the invited guests are expected to arrive. The guests will bring manioc, to make beer or manioc bread circles. Or they might make the beer beforehand and set it out in large wooden troughs, covered with banana-leaves, or in earth-pots, to carry with them to the fest.

The guests arrive on the day before the ritual is scheduled to begin. During that day, the women of the host village are busy collecting and processing manioc into beer. The men under the suggestion of the Owner are busily preparing the ritual house where they will stay as a group for a month or more. Holes in the walls or floors have to be sealed. Men also go to their gardens to help their wives carry back the heavy loads of manioc, or themselves get tobacco in sufficient quantity for the rites. Pepper is needed for the rites in sufficient quantities. Finally, the Owner must prepare the ritual ornaments which the initiates and the flute-players will use, especially head-dresses of macaw-feathers. Panpipes must be made and saplings for the ritual whips must be cut.

Day 1-- They Summon. Elders generally called this day *Pakapétan*, they summon. Before dawn, people are up and beginning activities. The Owner has arranged for groups of young men to go out in the forest and collect sufficient quantities of forest-fruit. These groups stay out until mid-afternoon and then return. Women continue the preparation of manioc beer until the fruit-gatherers return; then they prepare fruit-drinks (fruits mixed with water and manioc bread) for everyone to drink.

Meanwhile, the elders and adult men are "far away", in the forest or "on the other side of the river" from the village preparing the sacred flutes *Kuai*, the whips *Kapéthe*, and the special ornaments which go with the flutes, white-hawk feathers *Haawena*. They paint the outsides of the flutes with red streaks of *caraiuru* and light-yellowish ochre. They strap the middle sections with sweet-smelling *kumále* leaves. They prepare small bundles of *kumále* leaves wrapped around wads of tree resin (*maini*) which the flute-players will keep in their mouths to make the raspberry-like sounds of the flutes.

Baniwa men say they never make over new *Kuai*-flutes; those which they have come from the ancient times. Obviously, some pieces of paxiuba-wood out of which the flutes are made have rotted in the stream in which they are kept when not in use. A few "pieces" of *Kuai*, then, *are* remade by the elders who know the exact kind of paxiuba wood to use. The larger and more sacred flutes have treebark (*Waapa*) wrapped in a conical fashion around a good part of the paxiuba. On the short trumpets the paxiuba is completely covered by the treebark (See S. Hugh-Jones for the distinction between Flutes and Trumpets of "Yurupary", 1974). The treebark is secured with strong vines and stout ribbings (*dápi-koa*). Both treebark and vines are considered *Kuai*'s "covering" (*li-pápiwa*), inseparable from *Kuai*, always together (*linaidali*) with the sacred flutes. Several of the flutes, however, have no bark wrapping; they are much like *yapurutu*-flutes but larger and considered sacred with designs engraved on them.

Back in the village, by mid-afternoon the fruit-gatherers have returned and the women begin making fruit-drink. Shortly after, the elders return and the men drink. At this point, some fish is cooked and given to the initiates to eat. Then, the elder-"grandfather" of the initiates speaks to however many initiates there are, saying "I will summon you, my grandchildren". Already the initiates' mothers have begun the preparation of their sons. They are assisted in this by young girls who have the ritual title of *Kamarara* (The initiates' parents have previously chosen girls as "friends, companions", *como comadre*, for the initiates. No particular kin relation needs to hold between the girl and the boy; it is like a ritual friendship). The *Kamarara* and the mothers paint the boys. The initiates in return will give to their *Kamarara* gifts of basketwork they have made during ritual seclusion.

They paint the initiates well, making designs with red caraiurú (Kĕrawídzu) on their faces and blue-black genipapo (dana, danewi) on their bodies. On their arms, they put white heron down (maali-Īpe) or hawk-feathers (Pēre-mēle). After about an hour of decorating, the initiates are ready. The elder-"grandfather" determines that it is time to "summon" and to show the initiates Kuai.

"Thev Summon" (Pakapétan). A bit after four in the afternoon, everyone who has been in the house up to that point leaves except for the elder-"grandfather" and the initiates who stay together. Women and children rush off to their own separate house which is then closed.(Some say they go to a predetermined place in the woods. All cracks and holes in the walls have been tightly sealed. The young men and adult men rush down to the port where the Kuai are kept. The flute-players smear black carbon over their faces and prepare the marching-file of the sacred flutes. The black carbon is said to make the men look like "forest-spirits, Awakaruna". Many of the flute-players carry long whips with them.

The elder-"grandfather" stays at the main house with the initiates. He has told them previously, "I will summon you, my grandchildren. When we have finished drinking, then I will summon you." He places blindfolds over the initiates' eyes, gives each one a whip, and leads them to stand in a line just in front of the main House-door. "They do not see", for the blindfolds are tied tightly over their eyes.

The elder-"grandfather" carries a pole. Standing with the initiates, he calls out towards the port, singing:

"HEEEEEE...YOU COME SEE YOUR GRANDCHILDREN, YOU KŪÛALI (First Ancestor of the Hohodene)"

and taps the ground with his pole. At a signal, the players respond from the port, playing the flutes in unison, they say, going:

"HHHISHHH..."

but they stay at the port. A second time, the elder sings out:

"HEEEE...YOU SEE KUAI... COME SEE YOUR GRANDCHILDREN JAGUAR POEDZÁMALE (First Ancestor of the Hohodene)"

and taps the ground again. Once again the players respond in unison, in the same way, but do not come. The third time, the elder sings out:

"HEEEE...SEE YOUR GRANDCHILDREN, YOU KUAI...KUAI-BODY..."

The players then march up from the port, in a well-ordered file, with a tremendous noise of them playing together. The small flutes (Molito) are in front, played singly; followed by Maliawa (two), Waliadoa (three), and the large bark-covered ones are in the rear, Jaguar Bone (two, which make a lot of noise), Paca (two), and Deer (two). There are upwards of twenty different named pairs, each played responding to each other, each with a distinct melody (See Part III. *The Myth of Kuai: A Narration* for some transcriptions of these melodies).

The initiates are still blind-folded. They only hear the great noise and some "become afraid". The players march in well-ordered file three times around the patio, always playing. Then they stop in front of the initiates and the elder; the instruments are "stopped" and placed on a log. The elder removes, "opens"(*lim̂etaka*) the blind-folds, "shows (*linhata*) them to see Kuai", takes his whip and strikes (*liyaka*) each initiate, however many there are. Then he speaks to them in words such as the following:

> "Here it is, this Kuai. From the very ancient times it began for us, with the world, it began for us. He gave it to us like so. For this Kuai is Yaperikuli's son. Thus he gave us his son, the son of the Universe-Owner. For he left it for us like so, we did not make it. For we cannot make it. But then, this is the father, this is for us, this is the World-Owner..."

Often elders would add emphatic warnings to this speech: "*Never,ever* speak of its appearance to them, our women, // Never speak about it to women, // Never *once* speak of it, *thus it is*, thus it stays. // Do *not* tell!! // This telling about it is *bad* // If they tell of it, they will be killed // With *venom* // *Never* then, do they tell of it."//

After this speech the elder whips the initiates a second time. Several people stated that the elder then instructs the initiates to whip the flute-players. (In Baniwa belief, *whipping* (*naiyaka*) promotes growth. Elders state that they whip the children "to make them grow quickly" (*natawiya ienipete kedzá*), to make them "know how it is over time".) The elder then shows the initiates each and every one of the sacred flutes, names them, and instructs the initiates how to play a few (e.g., *Waliadoa*, *Maliawa*, *Molito*).

As dusk approaches, the group of men and initiates return inside the ritual house where they will stay for the night. The elder-"grandfather" instructs the initiates: "Now you are seeing Kuai. This entire night, you will not have *chibé*(fruit-drink). You will not sleep. If you do, you will be whipped". Initiates may be given small sticks to poke their companions should they fall asleep. Throughout the night the initiates are seated, although they may at times be shown how to dance with the flutes. The men sit in groups conversing, smoking, or drinking beer.

At dawn, the elder-"grandfather" blows spells on buckets of *chibé* (fruit-drink). The Owner of the ritual house then summons the initiates and the men to come drink. The initiates are supposed to respond with the *Molito*-flute, making a short testing "Hee" which means, "it likes to drink". Then the owner will call the women from their house to come drink on the patio with them.

Day 2--Beginning of the Marginal Period. During the day, the elder-"grandfather" stays with the initiates in the ritual house. The men may go walking in the forest to collect saplings (poapoa), for instance, or they check their fishtraps at the riverbanks. Very little work is to be done. Women stay together and continue making beer.

Late in the day, the Owner announces to the men and to the initiates and later to the women that the initiates and elders will stay together for the time of "One Moon". The initiates will stay secluded and restricted in diet in the Kuai-house (Kuaipan) during this time. Neither their mothers, nor any other women, may enter the house to see them; only the elders will take care of the initiates. The Owner later announces to the mothers, "I will show you them after one moon". Men and women will live separately; men are prohibited from having sexual intercourse with their wives. At the end of the month, at Oalipi (loosely, new moon), they will come out of the ritual house, and the men will show the mothers their initiated sons.

The Marginal Period. Immediately following the Owner's announcement, all the participants and especially the initiates [illegible] a period during which they are subject to rigid restrictions in their diet and other activities. The period of Naítawa ("they close", the expression used to describe the marge) is fraught with danger. As one elder explained:

> "They are able thus to know the world.// But this Kuai, it is not that we are able just in any way to know,// They say, the elders:'this is how it is given that they see Kuai, for we are given sickness with it// Only one is that one, the sickness-giving-owner'// They say, those elders,'If you do not stay restricted, then thus it is with you', so they say like so, the elders.// But we are sad, for thus they say to us our ancestors// But we know how it is, about this Kuai// They told us, those our ancestors:// What you see, is how it is they lived on it, on the world, on Kuai".

Initiates are expected to learn to bear hunger (mawithákai). Their diet is extremely limited. They may not eat any pepper-pot, nor have anything with pepper on it. They are prohibited from eating large fish and game of all kinds. To break these restrictions would result in a severe wasting-away sickness, called purákali, the symptoms of which are that one's body becomes weak and thin, dried-out, and one spits uncontrollably. Their diet consists primarily of forest-fruits mixed in water. They may have small fish, boiled without salt, manioc bread and possibly saúba ants. Women and the initiates' mothers prepare the food and ensure that it is free of salt, and that their sons observe the dietary restrictions until the one-month period is over. Finally, the initiates may not drink hot porridge (mingau), the usual "breakfast" of non-initiation time, and are limited to chibé.

For the other participants, the diet restrictions seem to be less rigid. The men may go out to hunt or fish. While I am not absolutely certain, I was never told of restrictions on pepper-pot for them. Presumably, they give whatever they hunt or fish to their wives, who cook and leave it for them at the ritual house. Again I am not certain, but it is reasonable to suppose that women consume part of their husbands' catches, in addition to which they might fish. There is no prohibition on their eating manioc products or drinking chibé.

The initiates are expected to learn to become wakeful and to be able to do without sleep. They are expected to arise before dawn from their hammocks, not warm themselves by the fire, and go to bathe in the cold water of the river. They are given *padzũma*, suds-making vines, to wash. In the past, during their baths they were made to drink a mixture which caused them to vomit (possibly this was *padzũma* mixed in water), to "clean out their insides". Nowadays, vomiting in the river is done on the nights immediately preceding the "Coming-out" festival towards the end of the one-month period of restriction.

In the past, when the initiates left their bath there might be at the port some poisonous *tocandira* ants. If one bit the initiate, this was considered good because it would make them stronger in their work, in the making of gardens, for example. Also, people say that in the past an electric eel was placed in the pool where the initiates would bathe, and if the eel shocked them, this was considered good because it would take the "wetness" from the initiates' bodies (This custom probably has a basis in the myth of *Kuai*, for the electric eel, *Dakátha*, has a part to play in Episode D., before the war with the women takes place). Finally, it is said that in the past at the initiates' bath they would be made to dive to the bottom of a river pool to look for small rocks at the bottom. If the initiate found clear white rocks, this would be a good sign that the initiate would find a good spouse in the future.

During the days of seclusion, the initiates, under the guidance and instruction of the elder-"grandfather", learn a variety of useful kinds of knowledge. The elders teach them how to make different kinds of woven basketry: carrying baskets, cassava squeezers, bread-trays, farinha sifters, bread-drying trays, etc. The trays, especially *dupitchi*, *walaia* and squeezers/strainers (*thíruli*) are made and presented as gifts to the initiates' *kamarara* at the end of the restriction period. In all, these basketworks are the sorts of things which the initiates, as adult men, will make and give to their wives as gifts, just as their wives will make and produce manioc which the basketry has helped to produce. The trays and other manufactured goods are also used as bride-payment.

Other things which the initiates will learn to make are: feather headdresses, ankle rattles, and ritual ornaments. They make things for hunting and fishing: traps for little fish, *Cáculi* traps for large fish, various kinds of nets, groundtraps for animals, etc.

The initiates come to know a great deal more about the sacred. The *Kuai*-flutes and other instruments remain in the house during the day; at night, the men play them wherever they are, in the house or at the port. The initiates are taught more about the names of the instruments, their significance, methods of playing, the mythology related to *Kuai*, and a great deal else about cosmology. The elders give talks to the initiates on the expected behavior of adults, much in the same vein as the "grandfather" instructs them at the end of the restriction period.

The Coming-Out Festival (Wamothoíta-Karoína). The title of this phase of the ritual was suggested by a ritual specialist who gave a very complete description of the initiation rituals. "Coming-out" describes what is done at one point of the ritual, when a *marching file* literally dances in and out of the ritual house. "Coming-out" is the reverse of the "Summons" when the ritual participants entered the *Kuai*-house. Most ritual acts described in this phase are oriented towards the goal of 'making come-out' the initiates, 're-integrating' the initiates, now as adults, in society.

The festival description is divided into four parts: 1.) *Preparations*; 2.) *The Blessing of Pepper and Food* (perhaps the most sacred part of the ritual, the main purpose of which is to shamanize the initiates' food, to make it safe for them to eat); 3.) *The Distribution of Food and the Speeches of the Elders to the Initiates* (when food restrictions are formally lifted and the initiates are counselled on the praxes of social life); 4.) *The Coming-Out Dance and the Presentation of the Initiates* (when all of the participants march out of the *Kuai*-house in a file).

Preparations. The preparations for the Coming-Out Fest begin about a week in advance of the event. When the four weeks of seclusion are drawing to an end, The Owner asks the "Grandfather" whether the initiates have finished with their basketwork. If so, the Owner calls everyone together and tasks are assigned: women will collect manioc and sugar cane and begin the production of sugar cane beer (*Ialáki*). Men are sent out to hunt for game and to fish, to return on the appointed day of the festival. On the day of the ritual, young people, even children, go out to the forest and gather fruit in sufficient quantities, whichever fruit is ripening in abundance at the time. At mid-afternoon on the appointed day, all people have returned with the food. The Owner asks the women to cook. Each type of food, when done, will be placed in a separate basket or tray. Little fish are placed in trays with the manioc bread. *A special painted plate* made of baked earth contains red pepper mixed with a bit of salt. This special plate will be used by the elder chant specialists for the shamanizing of pepper. The special painted plate, made by young women, is known by various names, e.g. *Ro-matchia-kapi Ro-Amaru* among others, the titles often referring to "made of earth", "blue earth plate", etc. The plates are used exclusively in passage rituals for the 'blessing' of pepper to and restrictions. I have never seen one, but for an equivalent item among Tukanoan peoples, see S. Hugh-Jones' description and discussion of *werea koa* (1974: 145-70).

Once the food (cooked fish, pepper, manioc bread) has been completely parted and set out in trays, the Owner has all of it taken to the center of the house. Both he and his wife then announce to everyone that they are ready to begin the blessing of food (*Kalidzamai*). The women then exit to their separate house, as the Owner then calls the three elders (the "grandfather" and two others) to come be seated by the plates of pepper. He then requests that they begin, with words to the effect: "Thus our ancestors have done before us. We also do the same. We call you to bless, to do *kalidzamai*, for our children". The Owner and elders then whip each other several times before the ritual begins.

The Blessing of Pepper and Food (Kalidzamai). From then until dawn of the following day, the elder specialists chant together with tobacco, blowing spells over the pepper bowl. It is a task of utmost importance for the initiates and everyone concerned. With tobacco, they blow the words of their spells into the bowl. With tobacco, they "think of" (*napinieta*) Kuai; in their thought they make a journey, as recounted in the myth of Kuai, to all the known places in the world (rapids, hills, rivers, every foreign land) where Amaru and the women took and played Kuai, as Yaperikuli pursued them. According to the myth, it was Kuai who first performed these spells in the first initiation rites (See Part III. *Narration*. Episode C.2). Yaperikuli and two brothers, *Dzũli* and *Ẽri*, heard Kuai chant and responded to these chants. The three elders of "today" try to do it in the same way as it was done in the myth. The lead chanter of today, who is the most knowledgeable and most experienced elder, calls himself *Dzũli*. He sits in the middle of two others, each known as *Ẽri*, who respond to the chants of the lead. The chants are sung in a two-beat monotone, beginning as follows:

"*Oopikatsa* // *Likenyua* // *Kalidzamai* // *Iaptena* //
"In the Ancient times // It began // " " // Pepper //

Kalidzamai // *Idthemana* // *Kalidzamai* // *Iukatena* //
" " // Tobacco // " " // Manioc bread//

Daipiya // *Aathi* // *Ekoakaûiam* // *Háre* //
Red // Pepper // The rim (of)// Primal Sun//

Linoma // *Mètaniúia* // *Dzũli*....."
The mouth// The bowls (of)// " " ....."

In the approximately fifteen sets of chants, the chanters name an incredible number of places, which they must do exactly. They cannot say only half of the places, or mix up the order. They travel in their thoughts to all the ends of the world, remembering the sacred music of Kuai. Then they return to the center of the world at

Hipana coming back on tobacco the means by which their souls travel.

A principal end-result of the chants is to *make* the pepper safe for the initiates to eat. Later, perhaps on a separate occasion (I never obtained a definitive answer on *when*), the elder-"grandfather" blesses every single kind of fish, from small to large, and all birds and animals, small to large, in a specific order. This will be done in much the same way as when parents of newborn children have their food blessed and made safe to eat following a period of restrictions. Without this blessing of food, people say the initiates would contract wasting sickness (*purákali*) or a sickness known as *Iùukali*, i.e., the fish one eats without the food being blessed will turn into a snake in one's belly and eat away one's insides. One becomes thin and literally looks wasted and prematurely aged.

As the elders chant, the initiates see the sacred flutes and trumpets being played. The men play all of the instruments with perhaps even greater force than in the "Summons". They dance round and round the center of the house, circling the flute-ends over the trays of food/fruits. On occasion, they stop and sing in groups the songs of *Kuaipan* (See the transcription of the Myth in ~~Part~~ III. for several song-sets, Ep. C.2). The men whip amongst each other on several occasions; they drink with the elder chanters when on breaks. Still other men prepare ritual ornaments, especially headdresses of animal-fur (*Ītchĭrĭ-Īdzū*) which they will wear on the following day. Just before dawn the men whip once more amongst themselves and continue playing, chanting, or drinking. The initiates are again prohibited from sleeping. One informant stated that shortly after midnight, the initiates are given chibé and then the men take them to the port to bathe with the flutes. The initiates are then made to vomit to clean out their insides, before they eat new food on the following day.

Soon after the Sun has shown its first light, at about 6 a.m., the chanters finish their spell-blowing. The lead chanter calls the Owner and announces, "What you have ordered is done. I give you this pepper, the pepper-of-the-beginning. It is finished", handing over the bowl. The Owner announces to all of the flute-players the same. The Owner says that it has been done well, and gives the elders chibé refreshment.

The Distribution of Food and Speeches of the Elders to the Initiates.

The Owner sees to it that the blessed pepper is cooked into pepper-pot with little fish, and sees to it that the trays of manioc bread are brought together where the elder-"grandfather" sits. When done, the Owner sets the bowl of cooked and blessed pepper-pot in the center of the house. The elder Owner or "grandfather" dips manioc bread into the pot and eats. When done, he calls the other men to come eat. Later, the Owner calls the women to come eat with them, or he delivers the blessed food to their house. (If the first, arrangements are made to put the *Kuai* away.) When they have finished eating, the switches are brought out. The men and the women, if present, whip each other back and forth until no one else steps forth.

It is time, then, for the elder-"grandfather" to teach the initiates the laws of living, one of the most important teachings in the eyes of everyone gathered. The initiates' fathers bring their sons to stand in a line before the "grandfather", in all probability the lead chanter, who is seated by the bowl of pepper. One specialist stated that the sacred flutes are laying on a log beside him as he speaks to the initiates. Other specialists stated that *Kuai* are "in their place", because there are women in the house. I shall transcribe a speech which could be given in either instance. In the case where *Kuai are* present, the elder-"grandfather" would perhaps re-name all the flutes and issue the injunction against telling of their appearance to women.

The address terms used between the initiates and the elder are as follows: the initiates may *sing*: *Noûe*, *Dzaui Poedzámale* My grandfather; Jaguar – First ancestor of the Hohodene – , or simply, *Noûe* . In the chanting spells, the elders refer to the initiates as *walikaniri-ienipe*, loosely, "our young children", but address the initiates as "my grandchild".

People say that if the initiate listens attentively, then he will respect the laws spoken to him in later life. These are the words of the ancestors "before" the initiate which the "grandfather" transmits to the initiate. The elder-"grandfather" speaks with the bowl of pepper beside him, saying to each initiate much the same as what one elder spoke to me:

> "You, *good* will you be // You, never will you ever look with anger on your kin // You, never will you ever fight with your kin // You, never will you ever hide your food from your kin // You, you will give well to everyone, thus I tell you, you give what you have, a little food to your kin // For your kin, you cannot hide your food from your kin, they have whatever // They may ask to eat what we have // For it is so, this their laws, what they said the elders // Thus they are able to know how it is about this, what they said about it, those elders.//
> "Never will you get this pain-giving stuff // Never will you fight with your father's brother's wife // Never will you fight with your kin's wife // Never will you fight with your kin's child // So they say, thus it was, they spoke to us here, they spoke before you to us // You guard well what they said, the laws of the elders //
> ....//
> "They are able to know about this world // They are able to know how to live here among people // They know how to do for their kin well // With their kin, they can live well among them. // Never with anger do they look on their kin // Never with anger do they see their kin's child // Never whatever kind of bad can they do to their kin // But they, they guard well and live how it is in the speech of the elders // They live everything how it is in the speech of the elders // How they speak with us, on pepper // On pepper they speak // They tell everything to us. // Never

also do they take away their kin's things, // Never can they take from their kin's gardens // Never can they take their kin's things, what he works on // Never do they take whatever from their kin // Never badly do they see their kin // Never do they make malicious talk for their kin // Never can they do it ever. // ...." //

When the "grandfather" has completed the lengthy oration, he takes a bit of the blessed red pepper and touches it to the initiates' tongues. He takes some fish, puts it on a piece of bread dipped in the pepper-pot, and gives it to the initiates to eat. The "grandfather" then takes his whip, called "The Whip of the Sun" (Hâre Kadaapo), flicks it aggressively, and three times soundly whips each initiate: TSA! TSA! TSA! That's all.

The baskets of fish, game, and bread are brought near. The elder puts small fish on pieces of bread and instructs the initiates to carry the pieces of food on the decorated bread-trays (dupitchi) the initiates have made and to distribute the food to everyone reunited in the house. The initiates' parents and other kin may raise their voices and speak to the initiates much as the elder has done, exhorting them to obey the laws of living. At this point, however, the elder-"grandfather"'s work, and the chanting specialists' work are finished.

The Coming-Out Dance and the Presentation of the Initiates. The groups of people divide up again. The flute-players and the initiates return to the house where Kuai have been kept. Women immediately return to their house. It is by now mid-morning and full light. The initiates have previously received fresh paint, new head-dresses, and fresh white heron down stuck on their bodies. In the ritual house, the men line up to form a marching file for "the coming-out" (wamothoitaka ienipete, we come out the children) dance. The men gather up the baskets and trays (dupitchi and walaias) made by the initiates, and carry the baskets. At the head of the line, the men carry the whips. They form the line at the house-door and then everyone-- all the men, all the elders, including the "grandfather"-- marches out, singing together:

"Wamotho liolia Kuai-panale // Wamotho liolia Kuai-panale //

"We come out of it, Kuai-House// We come out of it, Kuai-House//

Kamale Pananoma // 'amale panano // Kuai panale" //

_____ House-door // _____ Door // Kuai-House" //

They follow this special song-set with the traditional "Pimalie-malie // Pimalie-malie", etc, (for which, see Part III. The Myth of Kuai: A Narration, Ep. C. 2.).

The line comes out onto the patio, circles once, and returns back into the house through the same door. Three times they march in and out of the house, and each time they come out slightly farther than the preceding exit. On the final exit, they circle the patio and stop. Then ,the initiates stand in a line, with their *dupitchi*, and their *kamarara*, the girls who first painted them, come up and receive the basketwork as gifts. When done, the Owner speaks to the boys' mothers, presenting the boys and advising the mothers that whatever they wish to say they may now tell their sons. Some may cry and give counsel with words similar to the elder-"grandfather". With the conclusion of the coming-out, the boys are no longer children; they have seen and come into contact with *Kuai*. As the elders say, *Kuai* "has already entered their hearts".

At dusk, the sacred instruments which have been guarded in the house are returned "to their place" at the bottoms of nearby streams. The women are instructed to go off to the forest, while the men hustle the instruments to the "place of Jurupary" (*Kuai-ithíte*).

The Final Dance. After the *Kuai* have been returned, everyone comes back into the village. The Owner sees to it that beer is set out and passed around among all people. *Yapurutú*-flutes, panpipes, and perhaps, *ambaúba*-stomping-tubes are brought out, and there follows a period of dancing and drinking, much like a festival of exchange (*poodali*). Everyone participates; the mood is gay, light and social, lasting until the beer ends. By late night or early the following morning, the festival is over and the guests begin to return home. This concludes *Kuaipan*.

II. Ritual for Women:

In 1959, E. Galvão described the "coming-out" equivalent for the women's rite:

> The *Kariamã* (*lingua geral* term for initiation rites) that we attended, done for a young woman, reunited the entire village in the house of her father. None of those present carried whatever ornaments, except for some women with their faces painted with *urucú*. The young woman was brought to the center of the room, standing on foot, next to a post where there already had been placed a basket (*balaio*) with manioc bread, a bucket with pepper-pot, an other with two varieties of cooked fish, a head of a raw fish and some worms. During the entire early morning, a shaman blessed and blew smoke over these foods. The aunt of the girl stepped forward and made a long exhortation in *lingua geral*, counselling her to not be lazy, to make gardens and manioc bread, in short to realize all the tasks of an adult woman. When the speech ended, she took a piece of the raw fish, making the child touch it with her fingers and with her lips, repeating the same with the worms. She gave her then to eat cooked fish with manioc bread and pepper-pot. An other old woman repeated the speech and the food-tasting. It fell, in following, to the father to make a new discourse, at the end of which, he armed himself with a whip. He requested of those present that they open a circle, trying out the whip in the air, at the same time he discussed with his companions the best way to

> deal the blow. He served the girl with a piece of manioc bread with pepper, and ordering that she raise her arms, gave her a stroke (*cipoada*) well on the shoulders. The girl began to cry and was soon consoled by her kin. Other young girls and boys were brought to the center and there whipped. Some tried to flee but soon were caught and whipped. The chief of the ceremony, the father of the girl, then presented himself as if in trance, his legs and body trembling, at the same time that he raised his voice, exhorting. He delivered the whip to one of the children and taking off his shirt, he called him to return the blow. The youth, becoming afraid, refused, being substituted by a woman, who vibrated with such force, there was a heavy blow on the man's shoulders, leaving a marked wound. The leader called on other men and women, but despite the great liveliness, no-one stepped forth. The women served fish and bread to the men, following which was the traditional chibé...
> It was affirmed that in past times, a roast of the greatest number possible of species of fish and game was prepared. The fish and the raw worms are so that the young woman can prepare the hunted game without bringing it any harm.
> (My translation of E. Galvão, 1959:pp. 50-51)

A few things can be added to this description on the basis of what Hohodene said. The girl's ritual starts soon after the girl's first menstruation. Then, her mother cuts her daughter's hair "to the length of a boy's". The locks of hair are given to the girl's kin, and *kamarane*. The girl's face is painted with blue-black genipapo. She becomes subject to the same kinds of food restrictions as for boys and stays secluded in her parent's home for approximately the same period of time. Again, during seclusion, she learns many things: setting chipped stone-teeth in a manioc scraper, making earthen plates, bowls, ceramics, containers, bread-pans, bread-turners, mats. She learns a great deal about cultivating, harvesting, cooking techniques, and her mother counsels her a great deal on the expected behavior of adults.

Men may still play *Kuai* during the time of the girl's restrictions, or the night before the "coming-out" described above. The only thing the men would say about this is that the women had to either go to the woods or keep the house door shut when the *Kuai* were present.

For the coming-out rituals, I was told the following:

1.) The initiate *is* painted with red caraiurú and decorated with heron down, much in the same pattern of body painting and decoration as the boys.

2.) There are differences in the *content* of the spells which the elder chants to bless the initiate's food. I obtained only a "half"-complete set of chants for girl's initiation, and so I am not able to state systematically how different the sets of chants are. Obvious differences exist in the refrains, e.g., use of verb-particles, adjectives, *gender-words*. Also since the chants clearly relate to the myth of *Kuai*, the spells for the girls have much more to do with the episode when Amaru steals the flutes. The shaman who chants, for example, "pursues" Amaru. A more systematic account of the differences, however, will have to await the day when I can check details further with Baniwa.

3.) When the spell-blowing is done is not a matter of fixed time, as it is for the men's ritual. The elder may do it during the day or night. After the elder has finished, the initiate is called to take the blessed bowl of pepper back to the Owner.

4.) According to the Hohodene, the elder who has blessed the initiate's food, speaks to the initiate also, in addition to her aunt, or grandmother. When the initiate is counselled, she is supposed to stand on the inside of a basket (*walaia*); she has another turned upside down and put over her head. This one might be decorated with feathers. After the speeches of counsel, the elder whips the initiate; then and *only* then are the baskets removed. Finally, after the elder gives the initiate pepper, touching it to her lips, then a small hole is made in the dirt-floor, and she is instructed to spit in it.

5.) The dance-songs for the coming-out fest differ, but I am not able to state how.

The following text is an example of a speech which an elder can make to the initiate:

"Today, you... Already you have known the world // You know the world, you my child // Now it will be, I give you to eat pepper // Thus it will be henceforwards // Your food it will be // You will make it among them, our kin // You will make this bread // You will make pepper, you make fish, you make animals // You will give them to eat, those people // Now I give you to eat it // They know it as their food // Now I tell you *once* I tell you, not on *any* day do I tell you // You my child, whomever, or my youngest sister, or my younger brother's child // I tell you from now on, you will make this food // Do *not* disobey it // How he tells you, your father, you will respect it // How she tells you, she your mother, you will respect it // Do *not* disobey what is the order of your father // As they spoke those elders, is what I speak to you // As they spoke *before* you, those elders // *Today* I give to you what they said the elders // Do *not* disobey what your father orders // Do *not* disobey what your mother orders // What she says, your mother, you obey; as he says, your father, you obey // ..... // Then, you give them to eat, your kin, do not hide your food; you see your kin, you give him food. // You see your kin, all of your kin-sisters, you give them to eat // They do not hide their food // *Once* it will be, *once* I tell you, you my kin, thus it was they spoke *before* you, those elders // From now on, do not deceive // Do not deceive // Do not raise your voice in anger against others // Do not rob your kin's things // One time, one time I tell you, not a second time do I tell you. // The speech of the elders // When they get pepper, you prepare it // When they get animals, you prepare them // They catch fish, thus it will be // Today I tell you: // You, woman, this gossip/malicious speech // Never make malicious speech, you // With your father's younger brother, your husband, all those your kin, never will you raise your voice in anger at them, never do you speak in anger // You greet whom you see, well, you befriend them // It is bad, this malicious speech // However she speaks, thus she speaks, or thus and such to others, they would fight it seems, these other women // I tell you // Thus it is what they said, those elders before you // You guard my speech, you make your way with people // Thus I tell you, with this whip // You will make our food, do not hide it // That's all, Do not deceive! Do not rob your kin's plants! // Do not rob your kin's plants, you plant your own plants // Your plants, potatoes, pepper, bananas, yams, your own! // Never do you look on theirs, your kin-sister's, your father's younger brother's, whomever's // You make yours, they have theirs, it's different! // Never make malicious speech // Never with it any gossip // Do not steal from gardens // That's all, that's all."

III. Other Sources:

In preparing these summaries, I have not used comparative material about other Baniwa in the region. The following list contains bits of useful comparative material on Baniwa initiation rites from early sources which might be consulted by the reader:

Chaffanjon, *L'Orénoque et le Caura* (1889: 213-6). About a girl's initiation rite among Baniwa of the Guaviare River in Venezuela. A brief, perhaps fanciful description by a late 19th C. traveller without clear indication of how much he actually observed the ritual.

Von Humboldt (1907). On Baniwa rituals of Marôa at the end of the 18th Century.

Koch-Grünberg, Th. (1967: 185-8). Specifically on Oalipere initiation rites on the Aiary River and general information for Baniwa of the Içana, including photos of several instruments, whips, and ritual ornaments. K-G., in fact, demanded to purchase three sacred flutes from a Oalipere chief, who reluctantly parted with them. K-G.'s account of the ritual is really no more than a few pages of very general information about dancing patterns, and he does not seem to have found out about the myth of Kuai. In all, K-G. is far better in describing non-initiation rituals.

Pinheiro, C. "Villa de São Gabriel" (1900). Some interesting notes on "Jurupary" rites and traditions, among Baniwa and Baré of

São Gabriel at the turn of the century.

von Waldegg, H. "Indians of the Upper Orinoco" (1935). von Waldegg described in somewhat hasty and jargonistic fashion, "Jurupary" rituals among "Tatutapuyu" (i.e., *Adzanene*) of the Inirida River, and Puinave. A complement to this account is José Mario Rozo's "La Fiesta del Diablo entre los Puinave" (1937) because both travellers worked together in obtaining information during their whirlwind tours of the rivers. Both were fascinated, as so many observers have been, with the whipping part of the rites; and they give a few pages of summarized, abbreviated myths, which suffer from the problem of translation.

Appendix B: Summaries of Written Documents Related to the Baniwa, 1700-1975.

B.1.: Two Mid-Eighteenth Century Documents:

B.1.a.: Padre Ignacio Szentmartonyi's Sequentes Notitiates de Rio Negro, 1753.

Introduction: Biographical information on Father Szentmartonyi is found in Serafim Leite's *Historia da Companhia de Jesus*, tomo IX, p. 146. The Jesuit Padre Szentmartonyi was born in 1718 and died in 1793 or 1806 in Croatia. He was a professional astronomer/mathematician and was asked by Dom João V to work on the first commission to delimit the territories of Spain and Portugal in the 1750's. Around 1753, Pe. Szentmartonyi left from Pará to Mariua (Barcellos) and awaited the Spanish delegation with other members of the Portuguese commission. The Spanish, however, never arrived: "O plenipotenciario espanhol, impedido pelas perturbações indigenas do Rio Orenoco, não chegou no prazo estabelecido nem em nenhum; e os soldados, para lhes não pagarem os salarios a tempo, revoltaram-se e fugiram". (Leite, *ibid.*) Shortly after this, the Jesuits became the objects of intense blame and political attack, and Padre Szentmartonyi was, from then on, in and out of prisons until 1777 when he returned to Lisbon and finally to Croatia. Padre Szentmartonyi was thus one of the last Jesuits to live on the Rio Negro.

With respect to the document, I have not found any source which states directly that the Padre ever went on a journey to the far upper Rio Negro, nor even much further than Mariua. There is considerable evidence, however, from the document itself which indicates a first-hand knowledge of the upper regions of the Rio Negro which the Padre describes. Probably Padre Ignacio obtained information from the following sources: 1.) several chiefs from the upper Rio Negro, such as Cucui, Immú, and others mentioned in the document itself, whom he could very well have met and questioned while in Mariua; 2.) transfrontiermen such as Lourenço Belfort, Francisco Xavier Mendés de Moraes, and important missionaries such as Pe. Achilles Avogadri, who conducted the most important slaving operations on the upper Rio Negro in the 1740's. Also, from a close reading of the document, Szentmartonyi seems to have questioned Pe. Manuel Roman, who was the Jesuit Superior of the Spanish Missions on the Upper Orinoco in this time.

The task of translating this document was extremely difficult, and it has taken several years of intermittent effort, on my own part and on the part of several Latin specialists. It was a difficult undertaking because without the knowledge of the region, then translation from Latin would have been impossible, yet without an expert's understanding of Latin, the geographical knowledge would have gone for naught. In the end, it was my own effort and persistence with several Latin dictionaries and years of work with the single document. The translation is, admittedly, still rough; with more patience, expertise and money, it will become better.

The place-names and tribal names are of greatest interest to the geographer and ethnohistorian. In many instances in the course of the document, the name changes present difficulties. I have tried to help matters by placing in brackets significant variations in names which occur in historical documents of the Rio Negro from the 18th C. to the present. Several historians have done groundwork in constructing lists of tribal names from the documents of the 17th and 18th Centuries (See, especially, Sweet, 1974: App. C; and Bruzzi da Silva, 1962: Cap. II.). These sources are both excellent for giving concordances of tribal names through the late colonial period.

The next step in the endeavor is to map the names onto a geographically accurate map. I have tried to take a step in this direction in the Ethno-Historic Map presented in Section II.B. I would suggest that an even more accurate mapping would utilize Nimuendajú's *Mapa Etno-histórico*, made in the early 20th C., and that a team consisting of geographer-ethnohistorian-anthropologist go at it in the next time around.

[Key: ** = Hole or scratch in the original ms. page.
__ = wd. transl. uncertain.]

"On the ascent of the Rio Negro, first is the Rio Anavinjena [Anavilhena], on the right and after the Paravingena [Rio Branco]. Then the River Padauiri... Then on the left is the Majuisshi, five days from the Arrayal, where the Barés are, who extend onto the same Rio Negro. Afterwards, on the left from the Majuisshi, is the Aisuara where the same Barés are; again to the right the Cahaburi [Cauabory River] where the Chapuenas [Abuenas?] live, which is ten days distant from the Arrayal [slave-camp]. Afterwards, there follows four very swiftly-flowing large rapids, of which the first begins ** days from the Arrayal. Between them, on the left, there inhabit the river the Madivena whose chief is Murú. [Then follows a difficult passage to translate. The gist of it is that above this point just described are the several rapids around the present-day São Gabriel and there are islands in mid-river.]

Above the rapids occurs first to the left, the Cajari River [the Vaupés] on whose banks live the Chapuenas, the Kuevanas, after them the Banivas, then Boapés who occupy the upper river and are the last population, to even above the source. To them, the Padre believes, belongs this celebrated lake covered with gold, in which much gold lies, which to the Spanish is called the lake of gold. For, as the Padre mentions, the *Boapés* craft out of the precious gold, sheets of gold which they append to their ears. Several of these sheets of gold, the leader of the ransom troop [*Tropa de resgate*], D. Bellforte the English saw on the Marañon and declared them excellent gold; and the Indians who saw them were many. For Braga [I.e., Pedro Braga], a certain Lusitanian, went to the sources but fled from the Indians and was frightened, saying [that there were] many and ferocious Indians who prohibited him access to it.

After the Cajari, perhaps four days journey on the left follows the Içana where the *Banivas* live whose chief there was *Makubi*. After the Içana, to the right, follows the *Ishie* [Xié River], on whose eastern banks live the *Mabeis*, then *Mabena*, then *Bajanas* [Baiana, or Mayana]. On this river the Padre ascended a ten-day journey, whose mouth is marked at 500 lusitanians [poles for measure] --it has now and then rapids and inlets, it ascends to the place where the chief of the *Mabana*, one of the greatest lives, whose name is *Cavabana*. This one's wife, a quiet person, was persuaded to know Christian life, and now lives a Christian life in the Aricara village on the Xingú River among Christians. The Padres have known this man for two years and he has abstained forever from all eating of human flesh, faithful always and himself forever loving.

After the Rapids to the right on the Rio Negro, are people, first the *Demanao*, whose chief is *Camanao* and the *Kuenas* whose chief is *Mabavire*.[The gist of this passage is that Camanao and Mabavire exchanged their sisters for wives. There was a falling-out, a disagreement between the two chiefs and they went to war against each other. Mabavire killed the sister of Camanao and advanced against Camanao. The chiefs met in battle and Mabavire was killed. Camanao, it is said, then roasted and ate Mabavire's flesh. Camanao and "very many blood relatives were eating flesh with delight .]

After the *Kuenas* come the *Maribitenas*, after this the *Vipuari*, whose people walk in great numbers on the Orinoco, according to Padre Romano who is of our High Spanish Mission on the Orinoco. After the *Vipuari*, the enemy nation *Zavani* inhabits the river, after the *Maribitenas* whose chief is *Immo*, it is said, who has captured many enemies to be eaten and had a fence infixed around his village. To this one, the Lusitanian Francisco Xavier /Mendes de Moraes_7 by name approached and asked for their captives which he had come upon as victor in war; to sell the same or else to eat them up. The Lusitanian used several means to obtain them and at length he sold them at a price, angry and savage; and out of some of these, even, it is certain he will eat them.....

After the Maribitenas are the Warekenas. The chief of them was invited two years ago to descend the river into Christianity. /The gist of the story is that the Warekena refused and either the chief threatened the Padre with imminent death and a cannibalistic feast, or the Warekena stated that they feared being enslaved by the Portuguese if they descended the river. In any case, the Warekena made the Padre stay for the night. Neighbors from surrounding villages arrived and held a dance-festival. As the Padre stayed and watched, then all of a sudden, a troop of "vigilantes" arrived and seized several chiefs, and caused all other Warekena to flee._7

After the Warekenas then the Mallivenas follow, the last of the people which the Padre knows. The Warekena I got to know from these people. The language among them is common except that the dialects differ in the way of enunciating; all except the Kuevenas, the Banivas, the Boapés, the Bajanas, the Mabanas, the Javaris, the Vipuaris, these who among themselves share a common tongue which is discrepant from Chapuena and Barre.

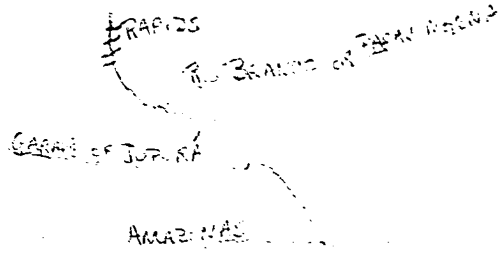
/The following passage is mostly illegible and I hesitate to even attempt to translate, because of the inordinate number of holes in the page. There are intriguing references to "earth/land", to "walking over the land", and above all, to "people walking over a great distance to go by foot into the heavens". One has the feeling that a certain people were forced away from their traditional lands; alternately, this is a reference to a search for the "terre-sans-mal" as with the Tupi or a millenarian movement._7

There is not one of these nations which does not eat human flesh such that the smallest enemy captured in war is held, altogether, until the day of the feast when they come to satisfy their tastes. [The gist of the following two/three sentences is: a Padre questioned a certain chief, who had been living in peace and Christianity for some time, why did they eat human flesh. The chief responded that he had not done so for years, and that a far greater number of captives would be taken in order to sell to the Portuguese and that, as a practice, people would be accustomed to selling whomever they captured to the Portuguese. The slavers Francisco Portilho and Braga thus obtained many slaves.]

[There follows about one page relating the story of the 'discovery' of the Cassiquiare Canal in 1744: Padre Romano, Superior of the Missionary Society of Nova Granada, met with Francisco Xavier Mendes and was taken by Mendes to the Rio Negro Arrayal. Pe. Romano was ignorant of the connection with the Rio Negro and was under the impression that, according to the Indians of the Orinoco, only "gigantic people" lived there.

When Pe. Romano arrived at the Arrayal, he was to meet Father Achilles Avogadri; Romano was there for three months and obtained an idea of the connections of the Orinoco, Negro and Amazonas. Szentmartonyi says, "six thousand baptisms had been done at the Arrayal and the Portuguese slavers made descend twenty thousand inhabitants of the Upper Rio Negro".]

[A sketch-drawing of the presumed connections follows, like so:]



"And the following news was received from the Padre:
News of the Rio Negro tributaries which flow into it from Francisco Xavier Mendes, citizen of Pará, who has lived on these rivers 28 years. The rivers which, ascending the Rio Negro, on the right, occur as follows: ** the missions Cabuquena and Bereroah **** is the river Guarira. It has a swift-flowing current, eight days journey to the headwaters, and a width of 100 lusitanian poles at

its mouth.

After the mission of *Dari*, following another day's journey is the *Iurubasshi*, 300 poles width. At the source, there is a lake which is full of large rivers, from which lake about 200 paces one emerges on the beaches of the *Japura*. It is abundant in *puxiri*. There dwell on it the *Manaos*, fugitives from the missions, and at the very source *Makus*. *Makus* are a nation of wandering and uncertain Indians, **, they do not plant manioc, but fish, hunt, and live from the spontaneous ripening of forest-fruits. It is not easy for the Lusitanians to buy them for possession because either they break away in flight at the first most proximate occasion, or they die at labor; by nature they are mild and docile, accustomed partly to hunting, partly to fishing and manioc to live. Human flesh they do not eat, but a great number of them are taken as captives by others to eat.

From the east, from the *Iurubasshi*, if you will, 10 [*Iencarum*] distance, is the *Ajoanna*, a little bit larger than the former. The source, it is said, lies by a distance of two days journey to the *Japura*. It is abundant in *puxiri*. On the lower part, the *Mariaranas* natives occupy, *Bare* language, distant **, and the upper river the *Maku*. The *Ajoanna* is followed after a day and a half by the *Uenuisshi*, larger than the former. A half day's journey from the source the *Japura* is distant. The inhabitants used to number at the very mouth the *Manaos*, today the *Amariavanas*, *Bare* language, other *Mepuri*, their own idiom of *Bare*, above the wandering *Makuni* occupy. From this [the Uenuisshi] after three hours space to the east comes the *Shiuara* river, almost as large as the *Ajoanna*. Sailing on this fifteen days one sails to the sources, by land still one comes through from it onto the *Japura*. Today, the *Kavaipitenas*, language of *Bare* Indians, live there, then the *Mepuris*, then the *Makus*. After 8 days, the *Shiuara* is followed by the *Marian* [Marié] of the same magnitude, and in our times celebrated because of the slaughter by the ruler *Manakazeri* [Manacaçari] of the Lusitanian embassador. The source of the *Mariah* goes to the *Japura*. The dwellers are the *Bare*, *Mepuris*, and *Makus*. The *Kurukuriuh* [Curicuriary] is three days from the mouth of the *Mariah*, fully as much as we from the Isshie-miner [i.e., from Mariua to a tributary of the Rio Negro]. Many are the dwellers, the Mallivenas, Mepuris and Makus. Some Makus have skin like white Europeans and reddish hair; others dark and black hair. [Some holes in the text; the gist of it is: Makus as a nation don't speak a common language.].

There follows the rapids, first the Biburi [or Bituri], it is said, after that another great one, the Surukua, then the first and a half distance, ** the nation Tibajakena [or Jibajakena] whose chief, Mab lives today, it is said; within, the Mepuris and Makus. Then the third rapids which is seen from the second by 1/3 [lenca] space of the Cajari [Vaupés]; and then a quarter 3/2 [lenca] is distant from the third. Near this mouth is the first river, the Cajari, the greatest of them, which flows into the Negro to the right... Ascending the river, the Tikie River occurs to the right, distant from the mouth as much as Iauissa [?] from Mariua. Between the Tikie and the Rio Negro, on the banks dwell the Cuevenas, their own idiom, and on the Tikie, are first the Mecanas [Arapaços?], their own language, then Chumanas [?], again their own language, and then various people with whom there is no commerce or negotiation.

After the Tikie, the Kapuri [Papury] flows into the Cajari, distant from the fermer as much as Pedreira from Mariua. Between these two rivers live the Boapés, a nation copious in particular idioms, of which are the Tarianas, of the Baniva tongue, the Barias, with a particular language, and many other unknown people. The Kapuri flows from the west into the Cajari. The Kapuri ** from the right and the people to the right bank are the Cuevenas, their own language, Banivas, of their own language, the Boapés.

[There follows a change in the text, which is subheaded by an Italian sentence, indicating that the description of Padre Szentmartonyi to follow is based on information supplied by Mendez. The content of the following passages is about the middle Rio Negro and the right bank tributaries.]

After Darahá three days journey, being as much as it is from Bereroa to Mariua, the Marauiah follows, greater than the Isshie-miri. Then comes a mountain which abounds in salsa; and there dwells the Jabanas [Yabahanas], with their own idiom and the Carnaus of the Bare language. Going up from Marauian five days journey, as much as it is from Mariua to Bereroa occurs Barabi. After Marariah, as much as it is between Cabukuena and Bereroa, occurs the Inambu, greater than the Isshie-miri; it has salsa and mountains. There dwell the Jabanas [Yabananas] and Carnaus.

After Inambu two days journey, being the distance between Mariua and Bereroa is the Caburis and on this, islands divide it in half. A month and a half by navigation, a distance as much as it is between Arikari and Bereroa, between the mountains flows the river full of rocks, which have rough rapids. Ascending on this, occurs on the right side the Iuh [Iá River] and the people that are there are Demakuris, with a Bare idiom, the Iaminaris ["Owners of the Iá"]. On the left, the distance of Mariua from Arikari, is Shamani whose people are the Demakuris, the Jibakenas, the Cubenas, and other unknown people all with the Barena idiom; for it abounds in Indians, the Caburis, and it abounds in salsa above where there is a break in the river... They are Madavakas, a nation who are many and warlike, with their own language; they use guns in war, which they obtain from the Dutch, in trade for captives, whom they bring out of various backwater rivers from especially the Jabanas and Carnaus [who either flee into the countryside or are taken to Pará]. The Caburis runs into the east.

From the mouth, the Miuva is distant from the Caburis as much as the Isshie-miri is between Mariua and Dari. It is inhabited by the Makuris and Makus. After the Miuva follows the Ibara by the same distance as Dari from Bereroa. It is inhabited by Makus and Makuris.

There follows two rapids of which the first is as far from Ibara as Bereroa from Dari. After the rapids, is Caua, smaller than the Isshie; it is inhabited by a population of Demanaos, of the Barena language. From the sources of the Caua are distant the sources of the Caburis a space of two days journey, on which are the Demakuris. After the Caua is the Imula two days journey, likewise inhabited by Demanaos. From this the Maboabi is distant as much as Cabukuena from Bereroa, as large as our Isshie. It is inhabited by Demanaos.

Iabana from Maboabi is a distance as great as we from Bereroa; it is inhabited by Kuenas whose ruler is Ioa who lives near Pará having descended. The Kuenas speak a Barena tongue. Maboabi is distant from Iabana as much as Bereroa from Mariua. It is inhabited by Maritibitenas, of the Barena language, whose ruler Cucui, was invited to descend. After this is an unnamed river, which BiaKuenas inhabit, which is distant from Maboabi as we from Bereroa.

[Speaking then of the Cassiquiare and the Bacimunari River, mention is made that Padre Romano or Lusitanians persuaded the purchase of 80 Indians to be bought in slavery.] On the Bacimunari, the Mabanas live, with their own idiom, and the Madavakas. There follows the Shiaba by our Issie. Yerikenas [Uarequenas] live there, with their own language, and the Madavakas. After the Shiaba is the Bativa [river] which is a bit larger. After these two is a lake and in the middle of the lake one can see many beaches. On this lake lives Immo, ruler of the Maritibitenas, brother of Cucui. It is said that that lake is never disturbed by storms... The Bativa is distant from the Shiaba as much as we from Bereroa; and the Shiaba from the Bativa as much as Mariua from Cabuquena. From the Bativa, the Orinoco is distant as much as Cabuquena from Dari.

After the Cassiquiare, to the right of the Rio Negro are fields and not a river flows on them. [Illegible passage about the river Orinoco and Cassiquiare.] The Inuini River returns into the Rio Negro, the mouth of which canal is above the Cassiquiare in the same distance as Arikari from Dari. A second time one enters the Timuini, from which, by an extension of three days, one comes on a small river, the Simité. There, poison-darts are manufactured, descending on the Iatavapú [Atabapo] where they enter on the place of the Simité, which is distant as much as Mariua from Dari. From the Iatavapú comes the Iakaú [Atacau] after a way, which is the same distance as Cabuquena from Mariua. From Iakau, the Inirida advances this journey, which is the same distance as Dari. Then it begins to enter on the Aviari [Guaviare]. On the Aviary, they navigated eight days, as much to finish the journey as it from the mouth of the Rio Negro to Mariua, and then on the Orinoco they arrived. Fifteen days with favorable winds and an adverse river...

Rivers to the left:

Guarira
Iurubassi
Ajoanna
Uenuissi
Shivara
Mariah
Kurikuriah
Cajari
Issana
Issie
Tumbo
Ake
Nakeni

Rivers to the right:

Issie miri
Anjuri
Iana
Daraha
Maraviati
Inambu
Caburis
Miuva
*va
Imota
Maboabi
Mabana
Matuiti
Biakuenas
Caihikiari

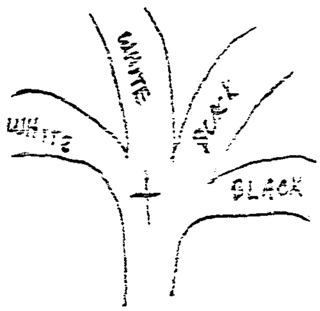
According to Padre Ignazio, who adds:

News from the year 1755 from the military Paraense whom Bellfort, the chief of the tropa de resgate sent to explore the Cajari [Vaupés] River, to find the Boapés or Goapés whom he saw carrying gold on their ears.:

To the left as they went up the Cajari, occurs the Tikie, distant five or six days from the mouth. It is near the Yapoas [modern-day Yupuas] in whose language Tikie means white. After the Yapoas are the Meoánas, who live on the river flowing into the Tikie to the left, which ascends the Tikie [i.e., the Arapaço people who live on the Japú stream or Ira-paraná].

From the Tikie the Ipanoré rapids is distant **, from a day or two the Kapuri [Papury]. After the Kapuri, a rapids which is near the mouth [i.e., Jauaretê Rapids]. After this a day, a rapids on which inhabits the nation Manonapes [Wanana paople], with their own language; after the Manonapes is the Cujari nation, their own language. After this is the river Cudujari [Cuduiary River] after which follows the largest and most difficult rapids [i.e., Jurupary Rapids], being eight days distance from the Capury. After this, I do not know how wide is the lake which four rivers form, flowing into the same Cajari: two from the east with white waters, two from the right black, altogether at the mouth collecting ** Vittarino. Following the white cross sign [See Szentmartonyi's sketch-drawing, which appeared in the margin of the document] one ascends on the white, the Cajari, until one comes to the source of the Cajari, it is believed. On this a nation he has seen which has the gold, from which it collects to have some commerce with the Europeans. After serious ***, it radiates. One month's descent to the same mouth of the Kapury, which is on the left of the Cajari.

But from the right, opposite the mouth of the Tikie are Kuevenas, with their own language. The people on the left of the Cajari do not eat human flesh, but on the right they do. On the right Cajari is the Shiviari River /i.e., Yaviary_7, distant three days from the mouth. It is inhabited by the nation of the Manivas."



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B.1.b.: "Estado Actual de San Fernando de Atabapo y Sus Providencias." (1758)

San Fernando is situated at 4 degrees, 8 minutes, 30 seconds North latitude and 69 degrees, 50 minutes longitude, on the east banks of the Rio Atabapo, where it meets with the Guaviare, "medio quarto" of a league to the west of the Orinoco, and three "quartos" to half day from the east with the Guaviare.

The population includes Cruzero, chief of the Guaypunaves; the Uerabaquinavis, Parennes, Docionavis, who live in small villages dispersed on the banks of the Atabapo, Guaviare and Inirida. They have made great siembras of yuca and other root crops; and with the greatest fidelity to the King, they have proved to me with their Vivezes, and they have been ready for Service from the beginning of the year 1758, that they congregated in that site.

Then there is the Raudal of Maypures, where lives the chief Guaycava with some families of Megepure of the Ventuari and a greater number of Macirinavis who were attracted from the territory between the headwaters of that river and the Caura.

Four days from San Fernando, in front of the mouth of the Ventuari, is the chief Imo with part of his nation Manetibitanna, and that of Manaa; the first from the Rio Bativa which enters to the Cassiquiare, and the second, refugees from the persecution of the Portuguese.

Six days above Manetibitannas they are making gardens and houses on the island *Purunami* some families Jahures [Yarures?] who have their villages on a river which flows into the Orinoco in front of the same island.

Four days above and a half a league below the mouth of the Rio Cumucunuma, the chief Tepé had begun a new village, but has his pueblo on the banks of that river three days voyage from its mouth.

One half-day above... is the Cassiquiare and on the banks which divide the waters they are making a strong house, whose hearths are washed with the waters of both rivers.

One half-league below the mouth of the Cassiquiare, is another strong house [the fort of San Agostinho] where Alferes Don Simon Lopez is located, collecting manioc from those Indians as provisions. Mará is the chief of the Darivazannas, Amuni the Amuizana and the chief of the Pacimonari; Cucui of the Manetibitanas who has his pueblo on the Rio Matuiti-- half a day above from its mouth, he is opening the mountain for a village on the banks of the Rio Negro two days from that of Mará. The Umarebitannas are one day below Cucui among Pueblos above the northern *orilla* of the Rio Negro. The Indians of the Raudal of Corocuvi [modern-day São Gabriel] are founding on that point a village which is the most dangerous for embarcations.

On the Rio Negro, one half day above, is the Rio Uetcia [modern-day Xié River] where the chief Teyo of the Putcirinavi nation lives eight days from its mouth, and has its neighbor, the Peecinavi nation, two days above, and the Guasiriennes, and the Aaquinavis who are on the Rio Aaqui which flows to the Rio Negro one-half day to ten days above the Cassiquiare mouth... The Mariquitaris [that is, the Maquiritares] of the Padamo, have "*proveido de Pagas, y viveres a los exploradores, que embie a aquel rio.... y quieren poblar-se.*"

[There follows a brief description on how the Orinoco runs and a geography of the hinterland.]

By the *orilla meridional*, leaves the Orinoco, the Cassiquiare branch, on which western point is the Fort, where it is well-situated; this branch runs half-a-day to the east. On this section, runs the Rio Pacimoni, on which is the pueblo of the Darivizannas; the Rio Bativa where the Manetibitannas live with Imo their chief; the Siaba or Idapa where lives the Darivizannas Maré; the Pacimoni where the Pacimonavi Caavi has a village and the J [H?] -arucas on its headwaters.

Below the mouth of the Cassiquiare to the Rapids of Corocuvy, there enter into the Rio Negro by the north the rivers Matuiti where the Manetibitanna Cucui has a village; the Biimiti; the Iá; the Maboabi; the Caba whose waters the Deemanauas drink. By half a day, there enter into it the Mabuabi River, and the Uetcia where are the Baniva; whose chief is Daricauana; and the Puririnavis, whose chief is Teyo with the Peecinavis; the Izana [Içana] River where are the Baniva, whose chief is Cunaguari, and the Cayari [Vaupés] on whose banks live the Cuevenas and the Guapes.

Above the mouth of the Cassiquiare enters the Rio Negro by the north the Itinivini which has its origins in some lakes which are on it,... In mid-river there is a pueblo of the Umarebitanna Davipo. A day above the mouth of the Itinivin, there leaves the Pimichini por la misma parte; e en la media distancia de aqellas bocas desaguan los rios Tomu y Aaqui por el medio dia. Six days from the Aaqui on the Rio Negro, our explorations stopped, but there are many nations living at the headwaters.

From the Aaqui to the Rapids of Corocuvi, the Rio Negro runs half a day and east, and from the rapids below are Portuguese establishments, of the new governor of the Captaincy of the Rio Negro.

[END OF SECTION TRANSLATED]

B.2. Capuchino Mission Populations on the Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro, 1767-73.

Pueblos	Inhabitants	Houses	Laborers
1. Maipures	134	20	32
2. Sama	104	14	27
3. Santa Barbara	240	16	65
4. Tuamini	153	12	31
5. San Gabriel (De Pimichin)	163	13	38
6. San Miguel	140	11	40
7. San Phelipe	292	15	65
8. San Carlos	367	22	91
9. San Francisco Solano	298	18	74
10. Santa Garudia y Felix	335	17	58
11. San Fernando	35	4	6
12. Ipuruhupani	29	4	5
13. Quirabuena	80	6	8
14. Guatamo	46	5	7
15. Inamapo	53	6	6
16. Maribibante	15	3	2
17. Padamo Alto	28	5	5
18. Matapi	38	7	5
19. Cavimena	25	4	4
20. Curapasara	30	4	4
21. Machapure	38	5	6
22. JupuriJupuri	18	3	2
23. Guarumamunano	26	5	4
24. Jeripiapa	22	3	3
25. Sanamapara	15	3	3
26. Piriquita	18	4	2
27. Guaiqaitami	70	8	12
28. Eventuari	50	6	9
29. Cointinama	24	5	2
30. Jabrichapa	34	6	5
Espanoles auxiliares distribuidos	70	7	10
TOTAL	2990	267	637

Source: Coronel Dom Manuel Centurion (marked) 320-1.

Appendix B.3.: Partial Statistical Summary of Descimentos Reported for The Rio Negro and Tributaries, 1760-90.

Year	People	Source	Relocation	Numbers
1761	Baré, Mapure, Jurupixuna, and others.		São Gabriel, São José, São Pedro, Sta. Maria, Sta, Barbara, Sta, Izabel etc.	- - - - - 389
1762- 1773	[Fairly continuous *descimentos* of the same people to replenish the same places.]			
1773- 1774	Jurupixuna, Baniwa, Baré, Uaupés, Jurí, Passé, Uarequena, Baiana.	URN	Cauabori River Santa Isabel	152 ?
1774	Macú, Baniwa, Baré.	URN	Maçarabi São Gabriel São Miguel São Felippe São José de M.	60 26 23 87 40
1776- 1777	[Seven Villages on the upper Rio Branco were formed after the Portuguese established the Fortaleza de São Joaquim and expelled the Spaniards.]			
1780	Passés, Juris, Xamás.	Japurá " " " "	Sto. Antonio do Cast. Velho (URN)	55
1781	Jurí, Passé.	" "	Caldas (Cauaboris)	600
	Jurí, Xamá, Passé.	" " " " " "	Sta. Izabel Sto. Antonio S. João Nepomuceno	40 16 18
1782	Jurí, Passé	" "	Maçarabi	55
	" " , " " ,			
	Xamás.	" "	São Pedro, São Bernardo, Cauabori	81 26 126
1783	Jurí, Passé, Uaupés, Passé, ?	" " " " Vaupés Japurá ?	Sta. Izabel Tapuruquara Cuanné São Miguel São Pedro	16 27 28 18 19

Descimentos: 1760-90 (Concl.)

Year	People	Source	Relocation	Numbers
1784	All people of the upper Rio Branco		Fort of São Joaquim	Hundreds
	Passé	Japurá	São Gabriel, Curiana	19
	Vaupés	Vaupés	Guanné	40
	Baniwa	Içana	Guia, São Marcellino	101 ?
	?	?	?	150
1785	Uaupés, Macú	Vaupés	Tapuruquara	11
1786	All people of the upper Rio Branco		São Joaquim	(Possible to count).
1787	Baniwa	Içana	?	?
1788-1790	All people of the Rio Branco		São Joaquim	(Possible to count).

(SOURCES: Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, "Diario da Viagem Philosophica," Tomo 48-9, "Participação Quinta" and "Participação Sexta"; Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, Diario da Viagem, op. cit. ; assorted documents in Nabuco, Lim. I Bres. Ann II.)

B.4.: Populations of Baniwa Villages, Mid-19th Century:

Names of Villages	1856[1]	November,1857[2]	August,1858[3]	December,1858[4]
1.) S. Matheus	45	—	36	46
2.) Carmo	60	"few" --35	4	29
3.) Nazaré	33	0 --6	52	45
4.) Tunuí	76	0	14	48
5.) Sta Âna do Cuiary	87	"few" --41		—
6.) Sao José do Amara	42	0		31
7.) Jandú	61	"few" --23		87
8.) São João Baptista	50	"few" --48		73
9.) São Pedro	54	0 --20		—
10.) São Bento	29	9		—
11.) São Roque	49	0 --24		69
12.) Sta Rita	—			56
13.) São Joaquim	—			
14.) Other locations	—	"unknown numbers at headwaters and woods".		
TOTAL:	586			414

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[1] Felisberto Antonio Correa de Araújo, 3 fev., 1856. In AA,II,7: 91-2.

[2] JFX-Furtado, "Relatório..." Nov.-Dec., 1857. In AA, I,4: 112-25. Figures appearing in left hand columns are in November, 1857; in right-hand are from December, 1857.

[3] Captain Pinheiro-De Sousa. Doc. 30 in Report of the Municipal Justice, 1858.

[4] Joaquim Firmino Xavier, "Relatorio..." In Avé-Lallemant, Vol. III, Cap. 4.

SOURCES

MANUSCRIPT DOCUMENTS:

Included here are the boxes, bundles of documents and individual manuscripts located in the archives I visited. I have worked through these documents in the course of research and have used them in this thesis. They represent a significant portion of all the documents reviewed for the writing of this thesis. I have listed them by alphabetical order of each of the archives visited.

Arquivo Historico Nacional, Rio de Janeiro:

Boxes (*Caixas*) 1,4,11. Includes Correspondence of the *Ministerio do Imperio* with the President of the Province, *Ministerio da Justiça* with the President of the Province, *Oficios* of the Presidents of Amazonas to the *Ministro da Justiça*, Correspondence of the Presidents of the Province to the *Ministro da Guerra*, Correspondence of the Chief of Police to the *Ministro da Guerra*.

Arquivo Publico do Estado do Amazonas, Manaus:

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Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, (*IHGB*), Rio de Janeiro:

Lata 356. Especially useful are: Document 315."Officios de Fernando da Costa de Ataide Teive ao Governo de São José do Rio Negro, Marcos José Monteiro de Carvalho"; and "Officios de João Pereira Caldas para o Governador Manuel da Gama, Lobo d'Almada sobre o Socorro Enviado a Expedição Filosofica... 1788".

Museu do Indio, Rio de Janeiro:

Unnumbered Boxes in which the following documents were found: "Document 25" (correspondence to the Inspector of the S.P.I.

from Vaupés posts, including several pages of sacred texts of the Tariana collected by an official in 1929); "Officios Recebidos dos Postos Indígenas do Alto Uaupés, 1928"; "Relatorio do Inspetor Referente aos Trabalhos realizados nos exercicios de 1930-31"; "Officios Recebidos dos Postos Indígenas do Alto Rio Negro", 1931; "Correspondências Recebidas do Posto de Ajudância, Waupés", 1945, 1957, 1959, 1967.

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